

UTAH

HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

WINTER 2004 • VOLUME 72 • NUMBER 1



UTAH HISTORICAL QUARTERLY
(ISSN 0042-143X)

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Utah Historical Quarterly was established in 1928 to publish articles, documents, and reviews contributing to knowledge of Utah history. The *Quarterly* is published four times a year by the Utah State Historical Society, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101. Phone (801) 533-3500 for membership and publications information. Members of the Society receive the *Quarterly*, *Utah Preservation*, and the quarterly newsletter upon payment of the annual dues: individual, \$25; institution, \$25; student and senior citizen (age sixty-five or older), \$20; sustaining, \$35; patron, \$50; business, \$100.

Manuscripts submitted for publication should be double-spaced with endnotes. Authors are encouraged to include a PC diskette with the submission. For additional information on requirements, contact the managing editor. Articles and book reviews represent the views of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Utah State Historical Society.

Periodicals postage is paid at Salt Lake City, Utah.

POSTMASTER: Send address change to *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 300 Rio Grande, Salt Lake City, Utah 84101.

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Free roaming buffalo are one of the most enduring symbols of the American West. The sight of vast herds thundering across the plains must have been a never-to-be-forgotten, awe-inspiring sight. As a source for food, fuel, clothing, housing, and many other elements of Native American culture, buffalo were as essential to life as air, water, and soil. Yet within a few decades the buffalo were gone and human existence on the Great Plains was changed forever. But what of the buffalo beyond the plains, especially those in the mountains and valleys of Utah? Our first article for 2004 looks at this question from the time the Utes and Shoshoni acquired the horse, through the fur trapping era of the 1820s and 1830s, to the eve of settlement in 1847.

The description of human relations by historians and other writers is a difficult and almost always an imprecise undertaking. The subtleties of culture, tradition, language, and past experiences mixed in with contemporary perspectives, priorities, and values make the process of writing history an endeavor characterized by individual interpretation—subject to disagreement—especially when the history considers the meeting and interaction of two different peoples and is based almost exclusively on sources from one of the two groups. Such is the case in our second article, one that considers how historians have viewed Mormon-Indian relations in Utah. How historians have chronicled those relations has changed over time and yet the basic questions have remained constant. Did Native Americans in Utah suffer less in their encounters with Mormons than did other Native American peoples in

conflicts with other Americans on the western frontier? Did Mormons live up to the Christian principles to which they subscribed and the revelations they accepted that Native Americans were wayward descendants of the House of Israel? And what was the nature of conflict and the measure of accommodation between the two peoples?



From historiography to celebrations, our third article looks at the commemoration of one of the most important events in American history—the completion of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory Summit on May 10, 1869. The event brought dignitaries from California, Nevada, and the East though not without considerable difficulty and danger as logs threatened to derail the Central Pacific train bringing officials from Sacramento and, in southwestern Wyoming, menacing unpaid workers seized Union Pacific Vice President Thomas C. Durant and held him hostage for two days until the strikers were paid. All in all, it is worth considering the story behind the driving of the Golden Spike on a wind-swept summit in northern Utah and the “Wedding of the Rails” that occurred when the Jupiter and Engine #119 inched closer together until photographers immortalized the event in one of the world’s most famous and celebratory nineteenth century photographs.

Celebrations have always been a high point of Utah life, but leave it to children to turn work into recreation. Such is the conclusion of our final article as it explains how rural children remodeled 4-H, a government-sponsored children’s club designed to provide vocational training primarily in farming and housekeeping, into an institution during the middle decades of the twentieth century where its adolescent constituents saw “the tools of work as playthings and the stuff of work as recreation.” Read this delightful article and see if there are not still lessons to be learned in how to turn daily toil into amusement and recreation.

OPPOSITE: Randlett 4-H Club girls proudly display dresses they made, Uintah County, 1931.

ABOVE: Left to right, County Extension Agent, Robert L. Hassell, Kay Harmon, forestry; Bill Oman, gardens; Billy Marston, gardens; Frank Blackham, crops; Clyde Best, soil conservation; Joe Bonnacci, gardens, Carbon County 4-H Club winners.

ON THE COVER: Tabiyuna, also spelled Tabiona, was one of Black Hawk’s raiding partners during the Black Hawk War and had lost his father in the early stages of the war. Tabiyuna is interpreted to mean “One who wins the race” or “Bright Sunshine.” Photo courtesy of the Smithsonian Office of Anthropology.



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The Other Buffalo: Native Americans, Fur Trappers, and the Western Bison, 1600–1860

By STEPHEN P. VAN HOAK

When gold rushers reached South Pass in 1849, many remarked with dismay that they had now left the Great Plains and the domain of the buffalo. Their impending crossing of the Intermountain West would be the most brutal portion of their journey, not only because of the harsh terrain, aridity, and poor forage, but also because the absence of bison in the West would leave them without a consistent food source. They would further be lacking buffalo “chips,” which had served them well as a substitute fuel source in the predominantly timberless lands of the Plains. Although the travelers had grown accustomed to hunting bison on a daily basis, few found it odd that they did not encounter another buffalo for the remainder of their trek. The bones and carcasses of the oxen and cattle left behind by previous travelers seemingly testified to the inhospitability of the Intermountain West to bovines. To the 49ers, bison were creatures of the Great Plains, and that portion of their journey was over.¹

Indian tepees made from buffalo hide. Buffalo provided food and clothing as well.

Historians, too, have long focused on the

Stephen P. Van Hoak is a former graduate student in American history at the University of Oklahoma.

¹ Major O. Cross, *A Report in the Form of a Journal to the Quartermaster General of the March of the Regiment of Mounted Riflemen to Oregon from May 10 to October 5, 1849* (Washington, 1850), 178; Elisha

bison of the Great Plains. With the exception of one recent article by Karen Lupo that surveys the appearance and numbers of buffalo in nineteenth century Utah, there is no scholarship that directly examines bison west of the Rockies. In contrast, studies abound concerning the habits and migrations of the plains buffalo, the utilization of plains bison by Native Americans, and the causes of the virtual extinction of the plains buffalo. Most such works, including preeminent bison studies by Martin S. Garretson, Frank Gilbert Roe, and Francis Haines, briefly mention intermountain buffalo but limit their discussion—in a similar fashion as Lupo—to an antiquarian listing of buffalo sightings in the West and a short description of the animals' geographic distribution and eventual demise. According to historian David Dary, western bison dwelt primarily in the mountains and had little contact with the many Euro-American trappers and travelers that journeyed through the lowlands and river valleys of the region.²

Recent scholarship by Dan Flores, Elliott West, and Andrew Isenberg offers a broader methodological and thematic scope, placing plains bison within a larger ecological and cultural milieu that included Native Americans as well as Euro-Americans. The environmental models laid out by these scholars help reveal the complex inter-relationships between land, animals, and humans on the Plains, and potentially provide a framework for interpreting the unique ecological place of buffalo in the West. Yet their emphasis on plains bison continues the historiographical trend of ignoring or dismissing the role of buffalo in the West. The ever-popular story of the demise of bison on the plains still draws historians away from examining bison in other regions.³

Anthropologists and archaeologists have been more active than historians in recognizing the important role of buffalo in the West. Scholars such as B. Robert Butler assert that western bison inhabited vast regions of the Intermountain West and were hunted extensively by prehistoric native hunters. Anne Smith and other ethnographers of American Indian tribes such as the Northern Shoshones and Western Utes describe continued

Douglass Perkins, *Gold Rush Diary: Being the Journal of Elisha Douglass Perkins on the Overland Trail in the Spring and Summer of 1849*, ed. Thomas D. Clark (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), 74-75; David Morris Potter, ed., *Trail to California: The Overland Journal of Vincent Geiger and Wakeman Bryarly* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 98-100; John D. Unruh, Jr., *The Plains Across: The Overland Emigrants and the Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 385-86; J. S. Holliday, *The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 137, 147, 150-55, 208-209. Throughout this essay, the terms "buffalo" and "bison" are used interchangeably.

² Karen D. Lupo, "The Historical Occurrence and Demise of Bison in Northern Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Spring 1996): 168-80; Martin S. Garretson, *The American Bison: The Story of Its Extermination as a Wild Species and Its Restoration under Federal Protection* (New York: New York Zoological Society, 1938); Frank Gilbert Roe, *The North American Buffalo: A Critical Study of the Species in its Wild State* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951); Francis Haines, *The Buffalo* (New York: Crowell, 1970); David A. Dary, *The Buffalo Book: The Full Saga of the American Animal* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1989).

³ Dan Flores, "Bison Ecology and Bison Diplomacy: The Southern Plains from 1800 to 1850," *Journal of American History* 78 (October 1990): 465-85; Elliott West, *The Way to the West: Essays on the Central Plains* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995); Andrew Isenberg, *The Destruction of the Bison* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

native hunting of buffalo well into the historic era, and Robert F. and Yolanda Murphy assert both Native American and fur trapper involvement in the decimation of western bison populations. Archaeological excavations of buffalo kill sites dated in both the prehistoric and historic eras support the conclusions of these scholars. Although anthropologists and archaeologists have not ignored western bison, they have essentially relegated the story of these animals to a sub-plot of a wider tale of Native American subsistence and history.⁴

While historians and anthropologists have thus far failed to explore adequately the full complexity of the place of buffalo in the Intermountain West, their cumulative scholarship does lay the foundation for a more complete study of western bison. This essay will focus on the interactions of land, bison, people, and their animals within the Intermountain West. Contrary to the assertions of many previous scholars, western buffalo were not shadowy and elusive beasts—they often coexisted in and competed with equestrian peoples for many of the same key environs and resources of the West. But in addition to competing with Native Americans and Euro-Americans, bison were also a crucial food source to these equestrian peoples. Although buffalo never dominated the intermountain landscape to the extent they did on the Great Plains, the eventual nineteenth century near extinction of these animals had important consequences for the people who remained in the region.

Like most myths, the notion that bison were exclusively creatures of the Great Plains has some basis in fact. The semi-arid and sagebrush-dominated lands of the intermountain region—Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, and western Colorado—were not “natural” bison environs, but did serve as periodic population overflow zones for Plains buffalo. The latest westward exodus of bison through the Rocky Mountains began about 1600 A.D. and continued into the historic era. The migrating herds eventually settled in the foothills and river valleys of the Intermountain West. Six principal regions west of the Rockies supported significant prehistoric populations of buffalo: the valley of the upper Snake River in southeastern Idaho, the Bear River valley region north of Salt Lake Valley, the valleys of Utah Lake and the Great Salt Lake, the valleys of the Green River and its tributaries, and

⁴ B. Robert Butler, “Bison Hunting in the Desert West before 1800: The Paleo-Ecological Potential and the Archaeological Reality,” *Plains Anthropologist* 23:82 (1975): 106-12; Anne M. Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes*, Papers in Anthropology No. 17 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974), passim; Robert F. and Yolanda Murphy, “Northern Shoshone and Bannock,” in *Handbook of the North American Indians* vol. 11, *Great Basin*, ed. Warren D’Azevedo (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 288, 293, 302; C. Hart Merriam, “The Buffalo in Northeastern California,” *Journal of Mammalogy* 7 (August 1926): 211-14; Francis A. Riddell, “The Recent Occurrence of Bison in Northeastern California,” *American Antiquity* 18 (October 1952): 168-69; Don G. Wyckoff, “Bison in the Basin: Prehistoric Occurrences and Their Relations to Man,” original unpublished manuscript in the possession of Don G. Wyckoff, University of Oklahoma; Karen D. Lupo and Dave N. Schmitt, “On Late Holocene Variability in Bison Populations in the Northeastern Great Basin,” *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 19 (Spring 1997), 50-69.



the region surrounding the upper reaches of the Colorado River.⁵

The settlement of buffalo primarily in river valleys at the foothills of mountains reflected the ecology of the Intermountain West. Bison had a perpetual need for water in the semi-arid lands of the region, and snow-fed waterways near lofty mountains provided continuous supplies of fresh water. Grass was another basic need that drew buffalo to these locales, but only seasonally. Many intermountain lands had little or no vegetation, or were covered with marginally useful feed such as sagebrush. Quality forage in the region grew primarily in vast swards within river valleys and in the form of highly nutritious but scattered “bunchgrass” in higher elevations. Bison were especially fond of bunchgrass and typically migrated out of the river valleys into the uplands during the warmer months. But the river valleys invariably drew buffalo back in the winter when the temperature dropped and snow covered the bunchgrass in the foothills and mountains.⁶

Prehistoric Native Americans in the Intermountain West hunted buffalo

Print of a buffalo hunt on the plains reproduced from a sketch by Frederick Piercy and printed in Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, James Linforth, ed. Buffalo supplied food, shelter, and clothing for the Indians of the Great Plains and the Intermountain West.

⁵ Haines, *Buffalo*, 31-32, 156-57.

⁶ Nathaniel J. Wyeth, *The Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, with the Wyeth Monograph on Pacific Northwest Indians Appended* (Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1969), 109-11, 122-25; William T. Hornaday, *The Extinction of the American Bison with a Sketch of Its Discovery and Life History*, in *Report of the United States National Museum for 1887* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 426-29; John Wesley Powell, *Report on the Lands of the Arid Region of the United States, with a More Detailed Account of the Lands of Utah*, ed. Wallace Stegner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 16-17, 30-31.

opportunistically throughout the year and also went on seasonal bison hunts. Buffalo constituted a very valuable resource to western natives, who depended on hunting for as much as 50 percent of their sustenance. Buffalo herds in the Intermountain region were not nearly the size of plains herds—a hundred or so animals would have been considered a large western herd. But each buffalo killed was a significant prize. An adult bison could provide as much as nine hundred pounds of edible meat; in comparison, deer or elk only supplied about two to three hundred pounds of meat per animal.

The proceeds of buffalo hunts were typically divided among the participating hunters, with the hides serving as containers for transportation of the meat that could not be immediately eaten. Excess meat was typically dried and jerked, and in the arid West such meat could be preserved almost indefinitely. In addition, Native Americans used the enormous hide of the bison to make lodgings, bags, moccasins, and clothing.⁷

Prehistoric Western natives pursued buffalo on foot using one of several methods. The most common technique was for a large group of hunters to surround a herd so as to prevent their escape, then to close in and kill as many animals as possible. In the winter, native hunters on snowshoes often hunted in smaller groups, miring bison in the snow and then picking off the immobile animals with arrows. Groups of prehistoric hunters were also known to drive bison herds over cliffs, especially during the winter. Though cooperative hunts were more customary, individual native hunters occasionally hunted buffalo by waiting in ambush for a stray bison. But neither individual nor group hunting techniques were consistently successful at netting large numbers of kills, and all these methods were potentially hazardous—unexpected stampedes could result in trampling of the unmounted hunters. Although prehistoric natives were certainly dangerous predators of intermountain bison, it was not until the introduction of the horse into the region that Western Indians became a significant threat to buffalo.⁸

The Native Americans of the intermountain region began to acquire horses in the early nineteenth century, and they quickly learned to use the new animals to hunt buffalo with deadly efficiency. Mounted Shoshoni and Ute hunters operated either independently using the chase method or as a group using the surround tactic, in both cases riding alongside bison and using arrows at close range to kill the animals. Horses allowed native

⁷ For dietary value of bison, see Theodore White, "A Method of Calculating the Dietary Percentage of Various Food Animals Utilized by Aboriginal Peoples," *American Antiquity* 18 (April 1953): 397. Buffalo meat was typically cut into thin strips and preserved by drying it in the sun. For other uses of bison, see Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains, 1830-1835*, ed. J. Cecil Alter and Herbert S. Auerbach (Salt Lake City: Rocky Mountain Book Shop, 1940), 192; William L. Manly, *Death Valley in '49*, The Lakeside Classics, ed. Milo Milton Quaife (Chicago: R.R. Donnelley & Sons, 1927), 103-104, 107; Smith, *Ethnography*, 42, 77, 97.

⁸ Butler, *Bison Hunting*, 110-12; also see John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, with Comparative Material from other Western Tribes*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 159 (Washington, D.C.: 1969), *passim*.

hunters to get closer and more frequent shots at fleeing buffalo and also made such hunters far less vulnerable to stampedes. The carrying capacity of the horse was also a significant advantage for equestrian peoples. Mounted hunters could rapidly kill multiple bison once a herd was discovered; successful hunts therefore became dependent more on the availability of excess packhorses to carry the meat and skins than on large numbers of hunters.⁹

But buffalo hunting west of the Rockies, even by mounted warriors, was extremely dangerous. The jagged and uneven terrain common in the West contrasted sharply with the flat grasslands of the Plains, and riders had to take great care to avoid being thrown and trampled. To minimize the danger, the Ute and Shoshoni specially trained certain horses as “buffalo runners.” Such animals were able to negotiate through difficult terrain at high speeds and to maintain a relatively precise distance and angle to a fleeing bison so as to provide their riders with superior shots.¹⁰

Native Americans were not alone in their pursuit of western buffalo—by the 1820s, Euro-American fur trappers began to enter the Intermountain West in significant numbers. From its inception, the western fur trade was closely tied to the buffalo. The killing of even a few bison could provide enough food to sustain an entire expedition for days or even weeks, as the meat could be dried for later consumption in areas with less abundant game. But fur traders did not always kill buffalo just out of necessity. Often they hunted bison simply because they preferred the flesh of buffalo to that of any other animal. Most trappers were lavish in their praise of bison meat, including Warren Angus Ferris in 1830:

We killed here a great many buffalo, which were all in good condition, and feasted, as may be supposed, luxuriously upon the delicate tongues, rich humps, fat roasts, and savoury steaks of this noble and excellent species of game. . . no other kind of meat can compare with that of the female bison, in good condition. With it we require no seasoning; we boil, roast, or fry it, as we please, and live upon it solely, without bread or vegetables of any kind, and what seems most singular, we never tire or disrelish it, which would be the case with almost any other meat, after living upon it exclusively for a few days.¹¹

Fur traders were so fond of and dependent upon buffalo meat that most

⁹ Osborne Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, ed. Aubrey L. Haines (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), 140-42; Ewers, *The Horse*, 154-59, 168-69, 304-305. Bows were the preferred weapons of equestrian buffalo hunters because of the difficulty in aiming and reloading muzzle-loaded guns while mounted.

¹⁰ For the dangers of hunting bison, see Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 57; Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 140-42; Peter Skene Ogden, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-25 and 1825-26*, ed. E. E. Rich (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950), 66; Wyeth, *Journals*, 7-8, 46, 52. For more on the qualities of a good buffalo hunting horse, see Ewers, *The Horse*, 153.

¹¹ Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 39. Female bison were not necessarily hunted more than bulls; often only bulls were encountered, and in any case bull meat was superior to that of cows during certain portions of the year; see *ibid.*, 158; LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Rufus B. Sage: His Letters and Papers, 1836-1847, with an Annotated Reprint of His "Scenes in the Rocky Mountains and in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Grand Prairies,"* (Glendale, CA: A.H. Clark Co., 1955), 170-71; Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 139.



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chose to trap beaver only in areas with bison or made frequent detours in search of buffalo. “No Sooner do we lose Sight of Buffalo,” according to Peter Skene Ogden, than many of the trappers in the expedition would begin to “grumble and Complain of Starvation,” and argue for the party to redirect their hunt or split off a few hunters to search for bison. Even during prime beaver hunting months in the spring and fall, trapping parties would often temporarily splinter when buffalo were known to be near.¹²

Trapper expeditions typically included one or more individuals whose sole purpose was to kill and prepare bison for the group. Their hunting technique closely resembled that of Native Americans—the trappers preyed on bison mounted upon specially trained “buffalo runners,” using firearms and the chase method. The proceeds of their hunts were distributed among all the members of the group, with the hunters either being paid or given beaver pelts as compensation. Meat not immediately consumed was often combined with fat and vegetables to make pemmican, a mixture that could be preserved almost indefinitely. Fur trappers also valued the enormous hide of the bison, which they used to make parfleches, clothing, and lodgings.¹³

Last of the buffalo in Cache Valley, Utah, drawn by Capt. S. Eastman. Armed with spears and bows and arrows, Indians wearing snowshoes were able to hunt buffalo and elk in deep snow. During the winter, buffalo often returned to well-watered river valleys such as Cache Valley.

¹² Ogden, *Journals*, 19, 38, 74, 141-66; William Marshall Anderson, *The Rocky Mountain Journals of William Marshall Anderson: The West in 1834*, ed. Dale L. Morgan and Eleanor Towles Harris (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1967), 178, 181.

¹³ For hunting technique of trappers, see Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 139. For other trapper uses of bison, see Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 92; Roe, *Buffalo*, 854-55; Hornaday, *Extinction of the American Bison*, 486.

Even in seasons when they did not trap beaver, most fur traders continued to hunt bison. The abundant buffalo in certain intermountain river valleys constituted the food source that allowed Euro-American trappers and Native Americans to congregate in large numbers and trade during the summer. Buffalo were also especially important to trappers after their fall hunt concluded and they gathered in sheltered river valleys to avoid the worst effects of harsh winters. Access to bison at these times often meant the difference between life and death for fur traders. For those who supported the fur trade, killing bison was also a year-round vocation—as Euro-American fur trading companies began to establish outposts such as Fort Hall in the Intermountain West beginning in the 1830s, hired hunters at these stations directed hunts in the nearby regions throughout the year in an effort to increase their stocks of food.¹⁴

Soon after their earliest encounters with western bison, trappers found that the animals were becoming increasingly scarce. By the 1820s the bison herds at Utah Lake and the Great Salt Lake had disappeared, and by the late 1830s, buffalo were extinct in the valleys of the Bear and Snake rivers as well. In 1840 Russell recollected that while buffalo had previously been seen in “almost every little Valley,” by 1840 all that were left were “the scattered bones of those who had been killed.” He continued, “Their trails which had been made in former years deeply imprinted in the earth were grown over with grass and weeds.”¹⁵

Clues about the demise of western bison can be gleaned from studies of plains buffalo. Andrew Isenberg describes the near extinction of plains bison as both a cultural and ecological phenomenon resulting from a destructive capitalistic struggle between Euro-Americans and Native Americans over control of plains resources. Rather than surrender an important resource like the bison to a competitor, both Indian and white slaughtered the creatures in a desperate frenzy. The keys to the decline of plains bison were the introduction of horses and market forces to the region; the market fueled native overhunting while horses provided the means to hunt the bison to near extinction. In addition to the deadly effects of human predation, the ecological consequences of the vast migration of humans and their animals into and through the Great Plains were devastating. Grasslands were ravaged, new diseases were introduced, and

¹⁴ Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, passim; Ogden, *Snake Creek Journals*, passim.

¹⁵ Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 123. Western Ute leaders spoke often about the abundance of buffalo in their youth; see Frederick Hawkins Piercy, *Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake City*, ed. Fawn M. Brodie (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 277; Kate B. Carter, *The Indian and the Pioneer*, Daughters of Utah Pioneers Lesson for October 1964 (Salt Lake City, 1964), 97; Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 122; also see Jedediah S. Smith, *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah Strong Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827*, ed. with Introduction by George R. Brooks (Glendale, CA: A.H. Clark Co., 1977), 41, 47; Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 216-20; Anderson, *Journals*, 178; Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 122-23, 138-39; “Some Source Documents in Utah Indian Slavery,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (July 1929): 75; John C. Fremont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Longmans, Green, 1956), 233-34.

migratory habits were disrupted. Isenberg concludes that humans were the primary catalysts of change in the catastrophic cycle of ecological events that ended in the near extinction of bison populations on the Great Plains. As Isenberg explains, characteristic long-term fluctuations of bison populations as a result of animal predation, drought, and other climatic changes were significant but not determinant in the demise of buffalo in the nineteenth century.

Though there are significant distinctions between the events leading to the destruction of buffalo on the Great Plains in the third quarter of the nineteenth century and the demise of western bison in the second quarter of the same century, the work of Isenberg, West, and Flores provides a framework for interpreting the reasons behind the precipitous decline of western bison populations. In both the Plains and the Intermountain West, humans appear to be the primary catalysts. Any potentially deadly threats to bison resulting from long-term ecological changes in the West were dwarfed by the rapid changes wrought by humans in the region. Indeed, archaeological evidence suggests that for centuries prior to Euro-American contact, climatic changes in temperature and precipitation may have actually stimulated increased numbers of buffalo in the Intermountain West. Further, it appears clear that losses of bison, as a result of flood, wolves, fires, and other "natural" causes, did not vary substantially in the West during the historic period.¹⁶

While human agency may appear to be the key to the destruction of western bison, their role was substantially different than it was on the Great Plains decades later. In contrast to the situation on the Plains, the bison hide trade did not initiate native overhunting of bison west of the Rockies. The lack of waterborne travel routes made transportation of the heavy buffalo hides impractical, and in any case the market for bison robes did not

¹⁶ L. N. Carbyn, "Wolves and Bison: Wood Buffalo National Park – Past, Present, and Future," in John E. Foster, Dick Harrison, and I. S. MacLaren, ed., *Buffalo*, Alberta Nature and Culture Series (Alberta: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 167-68, 173-74; Roe, *The North American Buffalo*, 154-69, 178-83, 194-203; Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 138. The changing climate of the Intermountain West may have endangered the beleaguered bison populations in some parts of the region. The buffalo grounds west of the Wasatch Mountains at Utah Lake and Great Salt Lake were periodically subject to severe winter weather patterns, including inversion layers that decreased temperatures to as low as thirty degrees below zero (Fahrenheit). These conditions were conducive to the cycle of weather events that posed a threat to the survival of bison—significant snowfall was followed at first by sunlight that melted the snow, and then by severe cold and darkness that froze a sheet of ice over the snow. Unable to get at the grass below, buffalo often died of starvation in such conditions. But while winter weather patterns such as this did occur occasionally on the western face of the Wasatch Mountains in Utah, they were quite rare elsewhere in the Intermountain region. For Utah weather, see Wayne L. Wahlquist, ed., *Atlas of Utah* (Ogden and Provo: Weber State College and Brigham Young University Press, 1981), 55-70; for the Little Ice Age, see Alan J. Osborn, "Ecological Aspects of Equestrian Adaptations in Aboriginal North America," *American Anthropologist* 85 (September 1983): 579; for comparative Western winter severity, see Osborn, *Equestrian Adaptations*, 570-71; Alfred Judson Henry, *Climatology of the United States*, U.S. Department of Agriculture Weather Bureau Bulletin Q (Washington, 1906), passim. Also see Carter, *Indian and the Pioneer*, 97; Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 65; William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake; Being a Journey across the Plains and a Residence in the Mormon Settlements at Utah* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1857), 143; Hornaday, *Extirpation of the American Bison*, 410; Allen, *Bison*, 512.



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materialize in full force until after the western buffalo had already disappeared. Whatever bison the Utes and Shoshones killed was for their own use and sustenance—not for trade—and there is no indication that their use of buffalo as a food source increased substantially during the historic era. Persistent Native American overhunting of bison is also inconsistent with the overall ethnohistorical record. Ethnographies and diaries of trappers indicate no significant drop in western buffalo numbers prior to the early 1820s; yet note a substantial decline thereafter. Though it should not be concluded that equestrian Native Americans had necessarily reached an ecological “equilibrium” with western bison, it is apparent that native overhunting alone did not trigger the precipitous fall of western bison populations—other forces that surfaced in the 1820s were clearly the catalysts.

W. W. Jackson print of fur trapper and Indian rendezvous, upper Green River, Wyoming. Buffalo hides, beaver pelts, tobacco, guns, and other items were traded and exchanged by Indians and fur trappers alike.

The most obvious new influence in the Intermountain West in the 1820s and later was the Euro-American fur trade—and trappers were certainly fond of killing buffalo both for food and for sport. But considering that there were never more than a few hundred white trappers west of the Rockies, it seems unlikely that they could have significantly affected overall bison populations. Yet fur traders were far more than mere hunters of bison—they were also a significant part of the ecology of the Intermountain West as well as a catalyst of ecological change in the region.

As previously noted, river valleys were essential habitats for buffalo west of the Rockies. Though their seasonal movements varied, western bison tended to seek out and congregate in riverine environs to mate during the dry and hot summer seasons when water and forage were not available in abundance elsewhere. In the fall, these buffalo herds dispersed, and small groups of bison wandered to the uplands and the numerous small meadows of nutritious bunchgrass common at higher elevations. As winter approached and snow began to cover the grass of the uplands, many buffalo

headed back to the river valleys for the shelter and forage those areas provided, though they still remained dispersed in small groups. In the spring the scattered bison again sought the bunchgrass of the uplands, "following the [melting] snow" up the mountainside.¹⁷ The western buffalo used the river valleys primarily during two seasons: winter, and most importantly, summer.

The seasonal movements of Native Americans and fur trappers in the 1820s and 1830s often brought them to large river valleys at precisely the same times as the buffalo. The fur trade had changed the annual cycle of many Western Native Americans—instead of dispersing in the summer in pursuit of scattered resources; large groups of Utes and Shoshoni spent their summers trading at the trapper rendezvous. Such large congregations of people and animals required an abundance of food, water, and forage, and in the West only the larger river valleys provided an adequate supply of these resources. Trappers and Indians were generally quick to slaughter the large herds of bison they typically found in these valleys, either for food or at least in one instance just to "get them out of the way."¹⁸ In the winter, these groups again journeyed to riverine environs seeking firewood, food, shelter, and forage. The frequent availability of bison in river valleys during winter added to the attraction of these sites as campgrounds. With their mobility and strength often reduced by deep snow and severe winter conditions, buffalo discovered at these sites were easy prey for hunters, as described by Warren Angus Ferris in 1831 while in northern Utah:

... we set off, and proceeding but slowly, though with great fatigue, owing to the great depth and hardness of the snow, which though encrusted stiffly, would by no means bear the weight of our horses . . . having seen on our route great numbers of buffalo, and many with young calves. We found the snow next day increased to the depth of from three to five feet, and floundered along through it for a few miles, though with the greatest toil and difficulty. Buffalo were quite as numerous on this day as the preceding, and we caught [and killed] thirty or forty of their calves alive in the snow. Quite as many more were observed either killed or maimed by the frightened herds in their fugitive course. . . [the next day] several men were sent out with directions to drive, if possible, a herd of bulls down the river. Could this have been effected, we should have had a tolerable road for our feeble horses to follow, but no such good

¹⁷ For quotation, see Thomas J. Farnham, *An 1839 Wagon Train Journal: Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Territory* (London: Richard Bentley, 1843), 47. Also see Russell, *Journal of a Trapper*, 3, 139-40; William H. Ashley, "The Ashley Narrative," in Harrison Clifford Dale, ed., *The Explorations of William H. Ashley and Jedediah Smith, 1822-1829*, with an Introduction by James P. Ronda (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 138-39; James P. Beckwourth, *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth*, ed. T. D. Bonner (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1972), 52-57; Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 39; LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *To the Rockies and Oregon, 1839-1842, with Diaries and Accounts by Sidney Smith, Amos Cook, Joseph Holman, E. Willard Smith, Francis Fletcher, Joseph Williams, Obadiah Oakley, Robert Shortess, T. J. Farnham* (Glendale, CA: A.H. Clark, Co., 1955), 138, 175-76, 180, 182. For a comparison with the annual cycle of Plains bison, see West, *Way to the West*, 73-77; Dary, *Buffalo Book*, 45.

¹⁸ Beckwourth, *Life and Adventures*, 53-54; Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains*, 65. For summer rendezvous, see Fremont, *Narrative of Exploration and Adventure*, 134. For winter rendezvous, see Ashley, "The Ashley Narrative," 142. Riverine microenvironments were of significant importance in the Great Plains as well; see West, *Way to the West*, 21-37, 74-79.

fortune was the reward of our endeavors, for the buffalo refused absolutely to move, and were all, to the number of fifty and upwards, milled on the spot.¹⁹

The seasonal depletion of riverine grasses by the horses of the trappers and Indians also had severe consequences for western bison. After weeks of grazing by large herds of horses, hungry buffalo returning to the river valleys consumed whatever grass remained in the area. Although the animals might find enough forage to survive, such grazing practices had important long-term ramifications. Western riverine grasses sprouted new growths in both the spring and fall, but the succession of horses and bison inevitably returned each following season to consume the new growth—and this process was repeated in river valley after river valley for decades following the inauguration of the western fur trade. Such repeated and persistent overgrazing over a number of years eventually tapped the energy from the roots of these riverine grasses and crippled the capacity of those grasses to recover. As a result, buffalo returning to river valleys following the departure of humans and their horses found less and less forage every year.²⁰

Even more potentially upsetting to the ecology of the West was the possible importation of new bovine diseases to the region. Diseases brought into “virgin” lands by Euro-Americans and their animals have been conclusively determined to have had a catastrophic impact on Native American populations in those regions. Animals native to those “virgin” lands were also susceptible to many of these diseases. Fur trappers and their horses traveled over virtually every waterway in the Intermountain West in pursuit of the beaver, exposing bison to a multitude of these new diseases and parasites. The massive summer and winter gatherings of hundreds of fur trappers and their animals magnified the threat to buffalo in the surrounding areas, with the danger continuing even after the departure of the trappers. At least one type of parasite, strongyles, was passed in manure and could survive on a pasture for several months, even under harsh conditions. This type of biotic killer could have acted as an unseen scourge, killing bison as well as crippling their capacity to reproduce, without the Euro-Americans who introduced the parasite even knowing what had happened. Yet direct evidence of bison in the West succumbing to such diseases is lacking, and even the possibility of such transmission is subject to heated debate among scholars. Elliott West has concluded that such diseases played a significant role in the depletion of bison on the Plains, but in the case of the

¹⁹ Ferris, *Rocky Mountains*, 65.

²⁰ This model is partially based on the work of Elliott West, as modified by the particular ecology of the Intermountain West, see West, *Way to the West*, 34–36, 77–79. For examples of this effect in the Intermountain West, see Fremont, *Narrative of Exploration and Adventure*, 215; Morgan, *Overland in '46*, passim; Holliday, *World Rushed In*, passim; Ogden, *Snake Creek Journals*, 86; Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah, including a Reconnaissance of a New Route through the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), 64. For Native American annual cycles, see Murphy and Murphy, *Shoshone*, 302; Stephen P. Van Hoak, “Waccara’s Utes: Native American Equestrian Adaptations in the Eastern Great Basin, 1776–1876” (M.A. thesis, University of Nevada–Las Vegas, 1998), 11.

Intermountain West Euro-American imported bovine diseases remain an unproven though likely scourge of bison.²¹

Given the relative importance of the scattered riverine areas of the West and the overcrowded conditions in these few large river valleys, it becomes clearer how a relatively small lot of Euro-American trappers managed to so drastically upset the tenuous balancing act between land, animals, and people in the region. The destructive effects of the cohabitation of important microenvirons in the West foreshadowed the consequences of similar microenvironment cohabitation on the Plains decades later, as related by historian Elliot West. While both the ecology of the West and the annual cycle of plants, animals, and humans in the region were substantially different from the Plains, the effects were the same. As bison were unable to gather to mate in the summer or to find sheltered grass in the winter—and possibly crippled by disease—their numbers predictably plummeted under the weight of continued equestrian hunting. The deadly legacy of the fur trade as an agent of ecological change is clearly reflected in published sightings of bison west of the Rockies in the nineteenth century. The areas first depleted of bison were the valleys of Utah Lake and the Great Salt Lake in the 1820s—the first regions penetrated by the western fur trade. In two of the fur trade's most well traveled areas, the valleys of the Snake River and Bear River, bison were extinct by the late 1830s, scarcely a dozen years after the inauguration of the trade. Buffalo lingered in the valleys of the Green, the Colorado, and their tributaries into the 1840s though in fewer numbers, areas less traveled by trappers.

Ironically, Euro-American over hunting of beaver in the West allowed fur traders to avoid the worst effects of the environmental destruction they helped spawn. The Euro-American market that brought trappers to the Intermountain West in the 1820s drew them away in the 1840s as the demand for beaver pelts waned. For those who left, the loss of western bison as a food source had little consequence. But for Native Americans, relocating was not an option. By 1841, nine thousand mounted Northern Shoshoni and Western Utes were in direct competition for a rapidly diminishing resource—the western buffalo.

As western bison became increasingly scarce in the 1840s, buffalo hunting became far more problematic for Native Americans. Rather than searching nearby rivers for herds of buffalo, ever increasing numbers of Ute and Shoshoni now had to go on “big hunts” in order to find significant herds of bison. They were compelled to travel longer distances to the east, where buffalo herds were larger, and consequently spent ever-greater periods of time on the hunt. Some groups of western Indians, including a band

²¹ For effects of disease on buffalo, see Roe, *Buffalo*, 829–31, 838–41; Carbyn, *Wolves and Bison*, 172, 174; Stacy V. Tessaro, “Bovine Tuberculosis and Brucellosis in Animals, Including Man,” in Foster, et al., *Buffalo*, 207–13; also see Unruh, *Plains Across*, 395; James E. Sherow, “Workings of the Geodialectic: High Plains Indians and their Horses in the Region of the Arkansas River Valley, 1800–1870,” *Environmental History Review* 16 (Summer 1992): 74; West, *Way to the West*, 72.

of Western Utes led by “Waccara,” seasonally traveled as far as the Great Plains to pursue bison. But increased Native American competition for diminishing bison herds both on the Plains and in the West made buffalo hunting a far more dangerous and uncertain enterprise, and violent confrontations between native peoples during such hunts became more common.²²

Although the western fur trade had retreated by 1840, thousands of American settlers began to traverse the Oregon Trail into Utah and Oregon in the years that followed, resulting in even more severe ecological consequences. Approximately twenty thousand settlers traveled to Oregon along the Oregon Trail between 1841 and 1848, along with several thousand Mormons destined for Utah. The California gold rush migrations in 1849 and 1850 brought tens of thousands more travelers. Their trail west cut straight through the few remaining buffalo grounds along the Sweetwater River, the Green River, and their tributaries. In addition to hunting bison for food, and in some cases for sport, the travelers also brought their horses, cattle, and oxen, and hence further ecological upheaval in critical riverine environs. As bison were left with ever-fewer locales to migrate to in their summer mating season, their numbers fell precipitously in their few remaining western refuges.²³

By 1850 buffalo hunting became impossible for most western Indians. East of the Rockies, as noted by Elliott West, the bison frontier began a slow retreat in the 1840s. The buffer zones between Plains tribes were being plundered following a general peace in the region, and soon buffalo were rarely seen on the Central Plains within a hundred miles east of the



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White buffalo hunters shown here in Montana in 1882.

²² Garland Hurt, “Indians of Utah,” in James Harvey Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley, in 1859*, Vintage Nevada Series (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 461. For buffalo hunting by Waccara’s Utes, see Van Hoak, *Waccara’s Utes*, 63–66. For conflict, see *ibid.*, 72, 84. For Shoshoni hunting, see Hurt, *Indians of Utah*, 461. Some Western Indian bands had a longer history of traveling to the Plains in search of bison.

²³ West, *Way to the West*, 18.

Rockies. Plains tribes, vastly superior in numbers and arms to the Western Ute and Shoshoni, fiercely guarded regions of the northern plains buffalo herds.²⁴ This effectively eliminated any opportunity for western Indians to hunt plains bison and also precluded any migration of buffalo westward to replace western bison losses. By 1860, western buffalo were virtually extinct west of the Rockies. With the loss of western bison as a food source, the Western Ute and Northern Shoshoni subsistence base became more tenuous and the Ute and Shoshoni consequently became less able to adapt when Euro-American settlers poured into the Intermountain West in the decades that followed. But ironically, the massive ecological changes wrought by Euro-American settlement and the deadly consequences of these changes for Native Americans in the latter half of the nineteenth century tended to obscure the adverse effects that the earlier Euro-American-induced loss of the western buffalo had on the Indians.

Despite almost being entirely eradicated by the environmental upheavals of the nineteenth century, bison numbers have increased in the twentieth century in a few scattered sanctuaries. Yellowstone National Park in Wyoming today contains the only remaining significant free-ranging herds of western bison. But the relegation of western buffalo to a remote mountain park tends to obscure the true history of buffalo in the West and in some ways perpetuates the myth that bison are animals that belong on the Plains. To the visitor at Yellowstone Park, buffalo seem—like the spectacular geysers and other unusual geological features of the park—an oddity that is out of place in the West. In many ways, stereotypes about the homogeneity of buffalo mirror stereotypes about Native Americans. The image of the culturally indistinguishable mounted Indian pursuing a bison across wide expanses of plains has become indelible in the minds of many Americans, and until recently, most historians. As scholars continue their efforts to shatter stereotypes and generalizations about Native Americans and the West, perhaps they can also begin to search for the shadowy and elusive beast that has thus far failed to capture their imagination and attention.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 63.



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Saints or Sinners? The Evolving Perceptions of Mormon-Indian Relations in Utah Historiography

By SONDRA JONES

They were the “battle ax of the Lord,” and as Johnston’s Army approached Utah in 1857 Brigham Young would admonish leaders of his southern Indian missions to obtain the “love and confidence” of the Indians through “works of righteousness” because they either had to “help us, or the United States [would] kill us both.”¹ Most Indians in Utah Territory had early made a distinc-

Major John Wesley Powell and Jacob Hamblin seated in council with Paiutes on the Kaibab Plateau near the Grand Canyon.

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¹ Thomas D. Brown, May 19, 1854, in Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1972), 25; and, Brigham Young to Jacob Hamblin, Aug. 4, 1857, letter book no. 3, 737-38, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Archives [hereafter Church Archives].

tion between the two warring tribes of white men: the more friendly “Mormonees” and the often deceptive and abusive American “Merocats.”² Ultimately, these Indians would become pawns in a power struggle between Mormon leadership and American officials in the Utah Territory—with the Mormons, and Brigham Young in particular, at first the clear winners in the contest for influence with the Indians.

But there was another, much darker side to the relationship, one most early Mormon/Utah historians preferred to gloss over or ignore, and peaceful relations exploded into several bloody uprisings, two decades of intermittent hostilities, and the ultimate removal of most Indians from around central Utah settlements and away from Mormon influence. Within two decades of the Mormon entrance into Utah, many Indians who had once been seen as Mormon confederates, had become their bitter enemies. The Mormon dream of redeeming and civilizing the Indians had foundered in disease, displacement, starvation, warfare, and death. By the late 1860s Mormons had become so hated by the Ute that even previously respected Mormons like interpreter Dimmick Huntington and trader Dan Jones took their lives in their hands to even enter their reservation in eastern Utah.³ A hundred years later scholars were beginning to ask why.

One of these was Floyd O’Neil, a native of the Uinta Basin where displaced Ute from Utah and Colorado lived on the tattered remnants of their reservation. He found a discrepancy between how Utes and Mormons each viewed their common history, and that “many longtime Utah residents” had developed “a comfortable myth . . . about the relationship between Utah settlers and Indians.” He had “never met a Utahn whose ancestors were not friends of the Indian, even though there had been several bloody wars between the pioneers and the Indians. The Indians,” he would argue, “were displaced just like in other states,” but Utahns preferred to “romanticize and ritualize” their history.⁴

Reflecting an emerging national interest in the Indian-as-victim, a new generation of Utah historians began to emphasize the tension and conflict that had existed alongside the proselyting and gift-giving of the Mormons, preferring to highlight the failures of Mormon-Indian relations rather than their successes. From vilifying Indians and sanctifying Mormons, the new historians quickly began to excoriate Mormons instead.⁵ It has taken over

² Not all Mormons were benevolent, and not all gentiles were abusive, but in general a significant enough difference existed that Indians drew a sharp distinction between the two. Brigham Madsen, among others, details non-Mormon abuses against Shoshone (“Calloused frontiersmen with little regard for Indians” and “ruthless, brutal, and indiscriminate killing”) versus friendlier Mormons who had to placate Indians for survival. See Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 25-28, 30, 32, 34, 47-49, 64, 80, 89-91, 167-68, 174, 209.

³ John H. Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998), 249-50, and Daniel W. Jones, *Forty Years Among the Indians* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1890/1960), 171-73.

⁴ Floyd A. O’Neil, quoted in *Deseret News*, January 5, 1996.

⁵ Ronald Walker complained that this only created a new set of stereotyped heroes and villains, “Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847-1877,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 27.



three decades for the pendulum of historical opinion to swing back to a more neutral stance in describing Mormon-Indian relations.

The earliest historians, like Edward Tullidge, Orson Whitney, and later Peter Gottfredson and Albert R. Lyman, were barely beyond the histories they were telling and were subject to not only the prejudices of their own society but the prejudices of their sources, which were predominantly Mormon.⁶ Not surprisingly, their histories were drawn with the pen of Mormon perspective, colored with self-congratulatory praise and self-justification, and tinted with the unfortunate nineteenth and early twentieth century stereotyped prejudices against “redskins” and “savages.” These historians reiterated early Mormon perceptions of their benevolent efforts to redeem and civilize the “degraded” and “inferior” race of “aborigines” they found in the Mormon kingdom of Deseret. They viewed Mormon settlements in the midst of Indian lands as noble missionary enterprises—or in Lawrence Coates’s words, “peace corps” missions to the Indians.⁷ Isaac Morley, leader of the 1849 Manti settlement, enthused

**LDS missionaries baptizing
Shivwits Indians, 1875, Utah’s
Dixie.**

⁶ Edward W. Tullidge, *Tullidge’s Histories*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City, 1889), and *Tullidge’s Quarterly Magazine* (various), i.e., “History of Provo,” 3:3 (July 1884): 240–41; Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, vols. 1–2 (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892); Peter Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing, 1969); and Albert R. Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws: Settling of the San Juan Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962) and *The Outlaw of Navaho Mountain* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1963). Gottfredson and Lyman were both participants in early settlement and Indian hostilities.

⁷ Lawrence G. Coates, “Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies: The Formative Period 1836–1851,” *Brigham Young University Studies* 18 (Spring 1978): 439–41.

that the purpose of the colony was to “enrich the Natives and comfort the hearts of the long oppressed.”⁸ Religious and agricultural missions were specifically established among the Southern Paiute, where Brigham Young exhorted missionaries to be “diligent in saving Israel,” and Parley P. Pratt, reminded them that “they had not been sent to farm, build nice houses & fence fine fields, . . . [or] help white men, but to save the red ones. . . . [for] with you new houses and farms is not the first thing.”⁹ Even after two Indian uprisings, Orson Pratt was still exhorting Provo residents in 1855 to make use of their location among the Ute to redeem the “suffering degraded Israelites.”¹⁰ Indian farms were established to teach agriculture to Ute and Gosiute, and a major goal of the struggling 1880 “peace missions” to the San Juan and Little Colorado regions was to “tame” the “chesty Piutes” and win “the love and confidence” of the Navajo.¹¹

The early language of Mormon-Indian relations carried the message of an inherent superiority of Mormons to not only the Indians, but to the general American populace of the time whose maxim was that the only good Indian was a dead one. Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders often contrasted their enlightened program of treating Indians fairly to those of Americans in general, boasting to both member, Indian, and gentile alike that they had pursued a uniformly generous and peaceful Indian policy.¹² This policy was fueled in part by a religious doctrine that called for the redemption of the Indians—or Lamanites—who were believed to be descendants of a fallen tribe of Israelite refugees who had migrated to the Americas centuries earlier. At the same time, however, most Mormons, like most non-Indians of their time, were frightened or repulsed by Indians. They typically saw themselves as victims in a heroic struggle against a hostile nature, a category into which many—including Brigham Young—lumped Indians along with rattlesnakes and wolves.¹³

⁸ Morley to Young, April 17, 1850, cited in Coates, “Mormon Indian Policies,” 440-41.

⁹ Brooks, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, 29-30.

¹⁰ Orson Pratt, July 15, 1855, in *Journal of Discourses* (London: Latter-day Saints’ Book Depot, 1854-86/1966) 9:178-79.

¹¹ Though most farms were under government auspices, the idea of Indian farms was conceived by Mormons. For southern Utah relations see Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws*, i.e. 11, 20, 42, 91, 96; Robert S. McPherson, *The Northern Navajo Frontier 1860-1900: Expansion through Adversity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 22-23, 26-28. The Little Colorado settlements were mostly expansionistic, but proselyting Indians remained a prominent feature.

¹² For example see Brigham Young cited in *Deseret News*, October 15, 1853, September 18, 1872, September 25, 1872, December 14, 1884, in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 4:49, 50-51, 5:162; Brigham Young in *Journal of Discourses*, 4:41, and 2:264; B. Young to Wákara, July 25, 1853, Utah Territorial Militia Correspondence, microfilm reel 1, doc. 289. Lt. S. Mowry, report given under command of Lt. Col. Steptoe (Gunnison Massacre investigation), July 23, 1855, typescript of letter, Utah Writers Project Collection, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Hurt to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 2, 1855, Office of Indian Affairs, Utah; [RG 75, M234, reels 897-898], as cited in Floyd A. O’Neil and Stanford Layton, “Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 247; Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 5, 26, 28, 286; Dean L. May, *Utah: A People’s History* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1987), 102.

¹³ For example, Young to Bernhisel in Howard A. Christy, “Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon-

Though they ultimately failed to “redeem” the majority of Indians, most Mormons believed they had done their best and that their failure could not be laid at their feet. Subsequent historians continued to echo such sentiments, carefully sanitizing their histories and extolling their Utah progenitors.¹⁴ B. H. Roberts wrote that the arrival of the Saints was “propitious” in saving the local “savages” from the ravages of an “obdurate nature,” and that because of their *Book of Mormon* teachings “the Latter-day Saint colonists . . . [could] not be otherwise [than] sympathetic towards their red brethren”; later, Andrew Neff would rhapsodize that the challenge of redeeming the “unfortunate aborigines” was both high “tragedy and romance,” in which it “pleased the Mormon imagination to believe that with proper tutelage these unfortunate aborigines might recover their lost estate.”¹⁵

Within the pages of these histories, Mormon settlers faithfully followed Brigham Young’s instructions, in particular his orders to feed rather than fight the Indians, and did their best to teach and civilize them. Most Indians responded by being friendly, and such Indian uprisings as there were, were attributed to unavoidable cultural misunderstanding and the meddling of outside forces.¹⁶ While “depredations” were the actions of a few bad-egg malcontents, renegades, and Indian “desperadoes,” Mormon casualties were limited in most cases to those who failed to follow the counsels of church authorities in their dealings with the Indians.¹⁷

These historians euphemized the displacement and removal of Indians, echoing Brigham Young’s argument that they were thinking only of the Indian’s welfare when they sought to remove them to some remote place where they could work out their salvation (read acculturation) in comfortable isolation.¹⁸ In an era when the removal of Indians to “Indian Country” was an established remedy for acquiring territory, and the creation of scattered chunks of restricted but “reserved” Indian lands was a relatively new idea, relocation undoubtedly seemed an ideal solution to the “burdensome tax” being levied by displaced and starving natives. But Mormon

Indian Relations in Utah, 1847-1852,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 229 note, and 234; also, Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah* (Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 148; Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 6; Brigham Young Manuscript History, Church Archives, May 1849, 76-77 [hereafter cited as BYMH].

¹⁴ For example, Roberts, *History of the Church*; Leland H. Creer, *Utah and the Nation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1929), and *The Founding of an Empire: The Exploration and Colonization of Utah, 1776-1856* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1947); Andrew L. Neff, *History of Utah, 1847-1869*, edited by Leland H. Creer (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1940); Milton R. Hunter, *Utah in her Western Setting* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1943), and *Utah: Story of Her People* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1946); S. George Ellsworth, *Utah’s Heritage* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1972).

¹⁵ Roberts, *History of the Church*, 3:457 and Neff, *History of Utah*, 365.

¹⁶ For example, Roberts, *History of the Church*, 3:465, and 4:38-39; Neff, *History of Utah*, 386-387, 391, 402; Omer C. Stewart, “Ute Indians: Before and after White Contact,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34 (Winter 1966): 55-56.

¹⁷ For example, Neff, *History of Utah*, 400, 403-407; Gottfredson, *Depredations*, 100, 199; Roberts, *History of the Church*, 5:154.

¹⁸ Young to Bernhisel, as cited in Christy, “Open Hand,” 230, “For the good of the Indians, let them be removed,” let the “government buy out and transplant” them.

scouts reported that the region targeted for an Indian reservation was good for little more than to hold the world together, and later attempts to settle in the Uinta Basin found it to be so harsh and unyielding that even seasoned farmers were barely able to survive.¹⁹ Still, early historians extolled its rich potential; Neff, for example, called the “imperial region of the Uintah reservation” a “natural paradise,” and the idea of removal there an “admirable” and “equitable” plan.²⁰

By the 1920s and 1930s a number of Indian “curiosity” pieces by amateur historians like Josiah Gibbs and William Palmer began to appear,²¹ along with the first scholarly studies of the Old Spanish Trail and the Indian slave trade that so impacted Mormon-Indian relations in southwestern Utah.²² Scholars castigated Mexican and Ute slavers, but wrote favorably of Mormon efforts to rescue and redeem Paiute and Gosiute children by fostering or indenturing them into their homes. Although Juanita Brooks’ 1944 study also revealed the often troubling nature of such biracial adoptions, she concluded the system had been a purely altruistic effort by the pioneers to protect, convert, and assimilate these Indian children into Mormon society. It would be an opinion echoed by most subsequent writers.²³

¹⁹ *Deseret News*, Sept. 25, 1861; Gary Lee Walker, “A History of Fort Duchesne, Including Fort Thornburgh: The Military Presence in Frontier Uinta Basin,” (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1992), and citing William Ashley who described the Uinta Basin as “sterile country” and “barren as can be imagined,” (p. 11). George W. Bean wrote “not much land ... suitable for cultivation” (p. 14), and L. J. Nuttall, said of the Basin “a barren dessert” (p. 16). Walker also argues the Uintah region became a piece on the political gameboard of Mormon-Federal relations: “The Gentiles will take possession ... if we do not, and I do not wish them to have it,” wrote Brigham Young while authorizing its exploration, while Superintendent of Indian Affairs Henry Martin recommended a reservation in the Uinta Basin be made to “prevent settlement by the Mormons.” Young ultimately wrote that “the hand of the Lord” had allowed Mormon settlement of the region to fail in order to throw the “federal regime off the scent” of their intentions to settle southern Utah (pp. 14-18).

²⁰ Neff, *History of Utah*, 391, 395.

²¹ See Josiah F. Gibbs, “Gunnison Massacre—1853—Millard County, Utah – Indian Mareer’s Version of the Tragedy – 1894,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 1 (July 1928): 68-75; “Moshokuop, the Avenger, as Loyal Friend,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (January 1929): 6-7; “Black Hawk’s Last Raid—1866,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 4 (October 1931): 99-108; William R. Palmer, “Pahute Indian Government and Laws,” *Utah State Historical Quarterly* 2 (April 1929): 35-42, and “Pahute Indian Homelands,” *Utah State Historical Quarterly* 6 (July 1933): 88-103.

²² For studies of Indian slavery in Utah and elsewhere see Joseph J. Hill, “The Old Spanish Trail: A Study of the Spanish and Mexican Trade and Exploration Northwest from New Mexico to the Great Basin and California,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 4 (1921): 444-73, and “Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 3 (January 1930): 3-23; William J. Snow, “Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 2 (July 1929): 67-75; Carling I. Malouf, “The Effects of Spanish Slavery on the Indians of the Intermountain West,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 1 (Spring 1945): 1378-391; LeRoy Hafen and Ann Hafen, *Old Spanish Trail: Santa Fe to Los Angeles* (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark, 1954); Lynn R. Bailey, *Indian Slave Trade in the Southwest* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1966).

²³ Juanita Brooks, “Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (January-April 1944): 1-48; compare Brian Q. Cannon and R. Kitchen, “Indenture and Adoption of Native American Children by Mormons on the Utah Frontier, 1850-1870,” *Common Frontiers: Proceedings of the 1996 Conference and Annual Meeting* (North Bloomfield, Ohio, 1997); Brian Q. Cannon, “Adopted or Indentured, 1850-1870: Native Children in Mormon Households,” *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life of Utah’s Mormon Pioneers*, Ronald W. Walker and Doris R. Dant, eds. (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1998). Somewhat less positive are Stephen P. Van Hoak, “And Who Shall Have the Children?” *Nevada Historical Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1998): 3-25; and Sondra Jones, “Redeeming the Indian:

Meanwhile amateur historians, various writers of local histories including the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers county histories, began to assemble collections and snippets of pioneer history. The purpose for these collections was to chronicle and glorify the heroism of their pioneer ancestors. Not surprisingly, their collections were judiciously edited, with unpleasant incidents carefully excised or reinterpreted to properly memorialize the courage and humanitarianism of the early Mormon settlers. Peter Gottfredson's stated purpose was to chronicle Indian depredations in Utah, while Kate Carter cannot be faulted entirely for not wanting to include Mormon atrocities as part of her Daughters of Utah Pioneers' *Heritage* series nor her romanticized *Heart Throbs of the West*.²⁴ Within the covers of these histories Indians appeared as either part of the hostile elements to be overcome, or mere curiosities to be clucked—or chuckled—over.

The 1950s and 1960s also produced a series of romanticized histories of the notorious war chief, Wákara, and a beginning interest in Chief Black Hawk.²⁵ However, most of these works were more apologetic than realistic, failing to truly chronicle the loss of resources and destitution that led to subsistence raids, kindled resentment, and ignited hostilities, nor the abuses that provoked the brutal retaliations that marked Ute uprisings.

However, as the era of the civil rights movement manifested itself, the awakening interest in minority and revisionist history gained momentum. In 1964, anthropologist Joseph Jorgensen wrote a scathing denunciation of Mormon usurpation of Ute resources as a pattern of exploitation, in his



Tecumseh (r), a Uinta Ute, as a child witnessed the arrival of Mormon settlers to the Great Salt Lake Valley. Brigham Young anointed Tecumseh when a child with sagebrush tea and he carried his picture as a talisman.

The Enslavement of Indian Children in Utah and New Mexico," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67 (Summer 1999): 220-41.

²⁴ Kate B. Carter, comp., *Our Pioneer Heritage*, 20 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1958-1977), and *Heart Throbs of the West* 12 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1939-1951) and various DUP histories including *History of Tooele County* (Salt Lake City, 1961); Cornelia Adams Perkins, Marian Gardner Nielson, and Lenora Butt Jones, *Saga of San Juan* (DUP: Mercury Publishing, 1957). Other local histories include, Marnius Jens Jensen, *History of Provo, Utah* (Provo: author, 1924); John Clifton Moffitt, *The Story of Provo, Utah* (Provo: Press Publishing, 1975); and various LDS stake histories.

²⁵ Gustive O. Larson, "Wákara's Half Century," *Western Humanities Review* 6 (Summer 1952): 235-59; Paul Bailey, *Wákara: Hawk of the Mountains* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1954); Conway B. Sonne, *The World of Wákara* (San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1962), and "Royal Blood of the Utes," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 22 (Summer 1954): 271-76; Carlton F. Culmsee, *Utah's Black Hawk War: Lore and Reminiscences of Participants* (Logan, UT: Utah State University, 1973); cf. Gottfredson's compilation of Indian war recollections in his *Indian Depredations in Utah*.

unpublished doctoral ethnohistory of the Ute. In it, he referred to the “numerous altercations” and “bothersome depredations” committed by the Ute, and criticized Brigham Young’s attempt to “get the Ute out of his hair” by “coralling” them on Indian farms, and then having the “temerity” to claim the Indians were learning to farm, and that claims of success were nothing more than ploys by agents to “secure their jobs” by showing progress in “civilizing” their wards. As Mormons appropriated traditional camping and hunting sites, Ute bands had splintered into older subsistence groups and had been driven “pillar to post” in search of food, while those who remained on the farms starved. Data from his dissertation would be enlarged into more disheartening and statistically damning detail in his 1972 book, *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless*.²⁶

About the same time Floyd O’Neil began publishing articles on Northern Ute history that were also heavily sympathetic toward the Indians as an oppressed and downtrodden people.²⁷ His 1972 dissertation and two subsequent co-authored papers with Stanford Layton and Kathryn MacKay, played heavily upon the theme of Ute displacement and dispossession.²⁸ Although O’Neil recognized Mormon attempts at implementing humanitarian projects, he continued to argue that in the long run the Mormons were no different from any other Americans when it came to dealing with Indians. Not surprisingly, tribal-generated histories of the Northern Ute, usually edited by O’Neil and his colleagues, echoed this opinion.²⁹ The familiar pattern emerged, he wrote, and “the Mormon experience ... [became] the American experience, and for the Indians the result was typically devastating.” For O’Neil the Presbyterian agent at Uintah, John J. Critchlow, played a far more honest and humanitarian role than did any of the early Mormons.³⁰

Revisionist articles of the 1970s and 1980s continued to examine the moles and pimples on the face of Mormon-Indian relations. S. Lyman Tyler, for example, echoed O’Neil when he wrote that “with all credit for good intentions, what had occurred elsewhere in Anglo-America was soon repeated in the relationships between the Mormons and the Indians,” and

²⁶ Joseph G. Jorgensen, “The Ethnohistory and Acculturation of the Northern Ute,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, Bloomington, 1964), 71-82; and Jorgensen, *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972).

²⁷ Floyd A. O’Neil, “The Anguished Odyssey: The Flight of the Utes, 1906-1908,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 36 (1968): 315-37, and “The Reluctant Suzerainty: The Uintah and Ouray Reservation,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39 (1971): 130-44.

²⁸ Floyd A. O’Neil, “A History of the Ute Indians until 1890,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 1973); Floyd A. O’Neil and Stanford Layton, “Of Pride and Politics,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 236-50; Floyd A. O’Neil and Kathryn L. MacKay, “A History of the Uintah-Ouray Ute Lands,” American West Center Occasional Papers (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, n.d. [1979]).

²⁹ For example, June Lyman and Norma Denver, comp., *Ute People: An Historical Study*, Floyd A. O’Neil and John D. Sylvester, eds. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1970); Fred A. Conetah, *A History of the Northern Ute People*, ed. Kathryn L. MacKay and Floyd A. O’Neil (Uintah-Ouray Tribe, 1982).

³⁰ O’Neil and Layton, “Of Pride and Politics,” 237, 241; O’Neil, “History of the Ute Indians,” 26, 46, 85, 188, esp. 100-25, and O’Neil, “Reluctant Suzerainty,” 144.

the “Mormon impact . . . did not differ substantially from that developed elsewhere.”³¹ Beverly Beeton’s 1977 study of Indian farms, while not unsympathetic with the motives for establishing them, found that mismanagement and political fumbling had left the farms profiting no one except their Mormon employees.³² Ten years later Eugene Campbell described how quickly Mormon idealism dissolved in the face of Indian resistance to Mormon expansion, noting that the failure of the Indian missions to the Paiute had been grounded in the self-interest of the missionaries who, despite exhortations to the contrary, fenced the best lands for themselves and left Indian crops to wither while they diverted water to their own fields.³³

The 1980s also saw investigations into Brigham Young’s tenure as ex-officio Indian Superintendent. O’Neil and Layton criticized Brigham Young not only for his direct usurpation of Indian lands and resources, but for exacerbating the problem by antagonizing the very federal officials on whom he hoped to foist the burdensome Indians, abandoning them at the time of their greatest need. Both Lawrence Coates and especially Howard Christy took a hard look at the formative years of Brigham Young’s Indian policy, each exposing and probing the punitive nature of the sterner “force policy” he briefly implemented against refractory Indians.³⁴ Both Coates and Christy noted that Young even issued his own Missouri-like extermination orders against hostile Utes in Utah Valley: “*Let it be peace with them or extermination.*”³⁵ Mormons killed nearly sixty Ute and Gosiute between 1849–1851, with escaping Ute carrying with them the festering wounds of a bitter hatred that would foster future conflicts. It would not be until after seeing the high cost of fighting Indians that Brigham Young would become firmly convinced that it was always cheaper to placate, conciliate, and support Indians rather than to fight them, a policy that would fuel all of his subsequent responses to Indian aggression. The point Coates, Christy, and O’Neil and Layton wanted to make, however, was that Brigham Young had *not* always been the uniformly conciliatory and benevolent father-figure earlier historians had painted.³⁶

³¹ S. Lyman Tyler, “The Indians in Utah Territory,” in Richard D. Poll, ed. *Utah’s History* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1978).

³² Beverly Beeton, “Teach Them to Till the Soil: An Experiment with Indian Farms 1850–1862,” *American Indian Quarterly* 3 (1977–78): 299–320.

³³ Eugene Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), chaps. 6 and 7, esp. 93–94, 111, 121; Jacob Hamblin Journal 1854 June–1858 March (handwritten) July 15 and August 9, 1856, Church Archives; Brooks, *Southern Indian Mission*, 29–30.

³⁴ O’Neil and Layton, “Of Pride and Politics”; Christy, “Open Hand and Mailed Fist”: 216–35; and Coates, “Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies,” 428–52.

³⁵ In 1838 Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs ordered that “*the Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the state if necessary for the public peace—their outrages are beyond all description*” as quoted in Roberts, *History of the Church*, I:479. Cf. Young to Wells, February 14, 1850, Utah Historical Archives, series 02210, Reel 6, doc #1312 cited in Christy, “Open Hand, Mailed Fist,” 225, and referred to in Coates, “Mormon Indian Policies,” 444.

³⁶ The feed-rather-than-fight thesis was not unique with Young; he just had more authority to enforce it. For example, J. Nicolay urged the government to “Buy [the Ute’s] good will . . . by a generous liberality



COURTESY OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS CHURCH HISTORY ARCHIVES

George Washington Hill (second row middle) missionary to and champion of the Northwestern Shoshone. Some Northwestern Shoshone remained in Utah and attempted to farm following the Bear River Massacre.

Christy's follow-up study of the Walker War demonstrated the effectiveness of Young's new strategy of defense and conciliation backed by military might.³⁷ However, Christy also noted that there was rebellion against Young's policies, and disobedience by militia officers as well as rank and file members. This, coupled with several

incidents of brutal reprisal by both Indians *and* Mormons, perpetuated the war's cycle of bloody retaliations.

The 1980s also found Brigham D. Madsen raising Mormon-Shoshone relations out of obscurity.³⁸ While recognizing the continual attempts by Mormons in northern Utah to placate Northwestern Shoshone, Madsen also criticized their usurpation of land, their failure to establish Shoshone farms, and echoed O'Neil's assertions that Brigham Young's "humanitarian policy differed more in degree than in real substance." He also saw Young as an "inconsistent and opportunistic" leader who was "oblivious" to any conflict of interest between his duty as Indian Superintendent to protect the Indians and his desire to expand Mormon settlement. Instead, he was willing to let "Indian rights ... [give] way to personal profit." Often only

... The expense of such a system will ... be found to be less by far than the expense of active military campaigns against them," Nicolay to W. P. Dole, November 10, 1863, *Report to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs 1864* [Colorado] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), 268. In 1865 J. W. P. Huntington, Supt. of Indian Affairs in Oregon, complained that it took 10 "good" soldiers and \$50,000 to kill or capture one Indian, cited in Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 227.

³⁷ Howard A. Christy, "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979): 395-420.

³⁸ For example, Brigham Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985); "Encounter with the Northwestern Shoshoni at Bear River in 1863: Battle or Massacre," Dello G. Dayton Memorial Lecture (Ogden, UT: Weber State College Press, 1984); *The Lemhi: Sacajawea's People* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1979); *The Northern Shoshoni* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, 1980).

“lip-service” was paid to the feed-rather-than-fight policy that, realistically, did have limitations since pioneer larders were not inexhaustible. Madsen concluded that despite the food-aid which fueled rumors of Mormon-Indian collusion, a “suppression-by-force-policy” often prevailed over Young’s peace policy, and “when push came to shove, exasperated Mormon settlers were capable of explosions of fury and appalling bloodlettings,” and could be as “ruthless as other frontiersmen.”³⁹

During the 1980s, Albert Winkler and Warren Metcalf both examined the 1865-1868 Black Hawk war, with Winkler penning the most blistering denunciation of Mormons in his analysis of the massacre of innocent Piede Utes at Circleville.⁴⁰ Although the incident is recognized by even revisionist historians as an aberration of war rather than being typical of the Latter-day Saints’ general Indian policy, Winkler argued that the only reason the massacre *could* take place, was because a pattern of brutal and one-sided frontier justice had developed among Mormons that allowed summary executions and mistreatment of Indians without fear of legal or ecclesiastical review.⁴¹ This mind-set was what would allow the admittedly peaceful, but fearful-minded Saints in Circleville to summarily shoot down a half dozen Piede prisoners whom they claimed tried to escape, and then cold-bloodedly cut the throats of their wives and children in order to silence the witnesses.⁴²

Although Ron Walker made a call in 1989 for a more objective reevaluation of Mormon-Indian history, decrying the pendulum shift toward vilifying the Latter-day Saints in the name of revision, Mormons continued to be cast in the villain’s role.⁴³ Even John Peterson’s 1998 study of the Black Hawk War, although it attempts to be objective and makes note of Brigham Young’s “undeviating” attempts to “square off” and end fighting, still emerges as the most comprehensive and detailed chronicling of Mormon atrocities to date. Despite the author’s aside that the Indian war was the clash

³⁹ Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 25, 29-30, 38-39, 72-73, 155.

⁴⁰ Albert Winkler, “The Circleville Massacre: A Brutal Incident in Utah’s Black Hawk War,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Winter 1987): 4-21; Warren Metcalf, “A Precarious Balance: The Northern Utes and the Black Hawk War,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 57 (Winter 1989): 24-35.

The Indians camped near Circleville were Ute, not Paiute, though as Isabel T. Kelly notes, the line between pedestrian Ute or Paiute in central Utah tended to be blurred; Omer Stewart (and later Anne M. Smith) argued that based on self-identification and other-identification, the “Piede” (or pedestrian) Indians in Circle Valley should be considered Ute. See Isabel T. Kelly, “Southern Paiute Ethnography,” *Anthropological Papers* # 69 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1964), 33-34, 91, 175 ; Anne M. Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Ute*, *Papers in Anthropology* #17 (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974), 18-27; and Omer C. Stewart, personal communication, 1978, in reference to his Ute Claims Case testimony.

⁴¹ For example, O’Neil, “History of the Ute,” 85.

⁴² Winkler, “Circleville Massacre,” pp. 8,16-19. For more details see also, John A. Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 245-48; and “Mormons, Indians, and Gentiles and Utah’s Black Hawk War,” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University 1993), 181-83; Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 144-46; Sanpete County Heritage Council and KBYU, “Utah’s Black Hawk War: Cultures in Conflict” television special, with John Peterson. Some have suggested Bishop William Allred may have used the hostilities as an excuse to get rid of the Indians he didn’t like having around, anyway. Indian tradition claimed *all* had their throats cut, and one escapee was murdered later when he returned and boasted of it.

⁴³ Walker, “Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations.”

of “two honorable people . . . trapped by their own cultures, goals, and interests, as well as by the larger political and national forces of their time,” and that “both were victims of demographic and political changes that threatened their very existence as communities,” his study of early Latter-day Saint bigotry and brutality is chilling. It would be indeed, as he points out, “a story laced with blood and bitter agony.”⁴⁴

The clear hero of Peterson’s story is Black Hawk, whom he has elevated from being a “disaffected renegade . . . war lord” of “lowly station” heading a “nondescript collection of Indian desperadoes,” to that of respected former chief, a member of the most powerful Ute clan, and a heroic but tragic freedom fighter who sought, and failed to raise a long-term pan-Indian rebellion against white encroachment.⁴⁵ His addition of Indian oral traditions about many of the engagements make events like the Squaw Fight and Circleville massacres, already troubling enough, even more sordid as the Indian versions (tinted by their own historical perspectives) often relate the events not as hysteria in the heat of action, but of cold-blooded malice aforethought.⁴⁶ What we do find in Peterson’s Black Hawk, though, is the Mormon-Indian story epitomized: the one-time friendly ally turned into their bitterest enemy.

The villains of Peterson’s tale are Brigham Young, Mormon Apostle Orson Hyde, and the settlers of Sanpete and Sevier counties. Peterson’s Brigham Young is a usually well-meaning and insightful—but exasperated—man who, despite his good intentions, ends up mismanaging the war with ill-conceived politics, some poor military tactics, and vacillating policies. Although Young urges his policies of conciliation and defense, he is also a rather two-faced conciliator who fights a supposedly secret war, offering honest amnesty while blatantly usurping the land, and authoring several disastrous strategies that end up perpetuating the cycle of hostilities and retaliation instead of ending them.⁴⁷ Apostle Orson Hyde openly

⁴⁴ Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 6-8, 380-83, 390. Black Hawk was related to Arapeen, Wákara, San Pitch, Ammon, and other influential commercial raiders.

⁴⁵ Compare Neff, *History of Utah*, 403-407, and Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 43-79.

⁴⁶ For example, Peterson, *Utah’s Black Hawk War*, 166-67, 222-23, 246-47. Indian versions tell of a premeditated attack (not a response to discovery) on a sleeping camp in the Squaw Fight. They detail the brutality of the retaliation after Pipe Springs, and suggest the Indian prisoners in Circleville did not try to escape but were deliberately executed. While the Indian perspectives add depth to the narrative, Peterson’s handling of them is occasionally troubling; like any oral traditions (or distant pioneer reminiscences) they are subject to creeping errors, but Peterson frequently fails to suggest this. Instead he implies that they might be more accurate. Yet he also demonstrates that errors exist in some accounts (i.e. the Battle of Gravelly Ford). This may be true of at least the Squaw Fight, for there is a striking uniformity of extant official and unofficial versions. A good model for using Indian oral traditions can be found in McPherson’s work with the Navajo, where he uses oral tradition to supplement contemporary sources and later interpretations in order to increase understanding of varying perspectives and attitudes, but without implying they are somehow more (or less) accurate than non-Indian perspectives. Mae Parry, for example, is careful to validate her Shoshone versions of the Bear River Massacre by demonstrating how carefully survivors preserved their oral memories of this event. See Mae Parry, “Massacre at Boa Ogoi,” in Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre*, appendix B, 231-38.

⁴⁷ For example, Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 145, 163-64, 176-78, 380-83, and esp. 2-8.

advocates a war of racial extermination and secretly carries it out, demonizes Utes as Gadianton Robbers (a vicious secret band in the *Book of Mormon* that plundered and murdered to get gain), and describes Indian killing as “that kind of gospel which they merit.”⁴⁸ And more than one Sanpete or Sevier settler would echo traditional American cant by boasting of having made “three more good Indians,” and arguing that Indians were “only at peace when they are dead.”⁴⁹

Peterson gives a depressing recitation of arrests and summary executions, massacres of Indians, and the wanton killing of Indian prisoners and escaped hostages that overpower his brief references to previous friendly relations.⁵⁰ The militia, rather than being the courageous and highly organized units of earlier histories are depicted as an often disorganized collection of untrained settlers, many of whom do not own a gun let alone know how to use one. They bumble into Black Hawk’s ambushes, stumble through the eastern deserts chasing Indians with insufficient provisions, and repeatedly make strategic withdrawals when a fight is imminent. The militia imported from the north includes many young men who are little more than footloose, poorly outfitted, and disaffected hired guns.⁵¹

Meanwhile, the major theme of Ronald Holt’s 1992 ethnohistory of the Southern Paiute (including the remnant Koosharem Ute and Kanosh Pahvant) was the destructive influence of well-meaning Mormons on those Indians who survived wars and relocation, and had remained under their influence.⁵² Viewing Mormon-Indian relations through the paradigm of paternalistic dependency and colonialism, Holt drew attention to the paradox that “the negative consequence of ‘being helped’” could be “as pervasive and profound as those of being exploited.”⁵³ Thanks to Mormon charity, the Southern Paiute had become subjected to a classic system of

⁴⁸ Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, demonizes Orson Hyde throughout: see quote p. 247 and also, 144-45. By labeling recalcitrant Indians as “Gadianton Robbers” rather than just Lamanites needing redemption, Mormons justified harsh measures against them. When Nephite “defense” policy failed, the *Book of Mormon* describes a war of extermination against the Gadianton Robbers (Helaman 11:28; 3 Nephi 4:5, 13, 27). The idea that “bad” Indians were descendants of this wicked robber band persist: Lyman referred to Posey and others as Gadiantons. See Albert R. Lyman, “A Relic of Gadianton: Old Posey as I Knew Him,” *Improvement Era* 26 (July 1923): 793; folklore persist that southern Utah was a stronghold of the Gadiantons, and as late as the mid-1970s a land developer was asked to “exorcise” a housing development at the mouth of Spanish Fork Canyon which residents claimed was still “haunted” by the evil spirits of Gadianton Robbers (Winfield Peterson [developer], personal communication, 1975). W. Paul Reeve also explores this theme in “‘As Ugly as Evil’ and ‘as Wicked as Hell’: Gadianton Robbers and the Legend Process among the Mormons,” *Journal of Mormon History* 27 (Fall 2001): 125-49; BYU folklore archives also contains numerous versions of these stories.

⁴⁹ Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 172, 233.

⁵⁰ Peterson, *The Black Hawk War*, 164-67, 222-23, 229-42, 245-47.

⁵¹ C.f. Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 206-207, 211, 281; Neff, *History of Utah*, 373, and Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 19-21, 168-71, 179-81, 301.

⁵² Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992); cf. “Beneath These Red Cliffs: The Utah Paiutes and Paternalistic Dependency” (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 1987).

⁵³ G. Goodell, “Paternalism, Patronage, and Potlatch: The Dynamics of Giving and Being Given To,” in *Current Anthropology* 26 (1985): 248, as cited by Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, xv.

colonial paternalism in which they were controlled through the asymmetrical gift-giving pattern of a patron-client or parent-child, binding them within a system of obligation and dependence. While probably well-intentioned (Holt leaves room for doubt), 150 years of Mormon gifts had never been enough to lift the Paiute toward independence, but had instead deflected federal aid and “forged” the “chains” of a hostile-dependency that had become a disguised “parasitism” in which the dominant and highly prejudiced Mormon population relied on the cheap labor of Paiute menials and condescendingly endured them as a “necessary evil.”⁵⁴

Other studies cited by Holt also condemned on-going Mormon-Indian relations, including a 1955 criticism of the “feudalistic” relationship between Mormons and Southern Paiute, and a denunciation of the Mormon-sponsored Indian Placement [fostering] Program as an attempt at “cultural genocide.”⁵⁵ Holt, Warren Metcalf, and others have also condemned the Mormon land-claims attorneys, in particular Ernest L. Wilkinson who was intimately involved with writing the claims act (considered by many to be a prelude to termination) and whose firm handled the largest number of profitable Indian claims cases, including those of the Southern Paiute and the precedent-setting Ute claims, while ignoring other less-profitable Indian rights litigation.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, it was another Mormon, Utah’s Senator Arthur Watkins, who became the moving force behind the disastrous 1950s termination legislation, and who specifically targeted Utah’s Indians. In sync with most historians, Holt and Metcalf both recognized that Watkins’s religious ideology influenced his campaign to “free” Indians from the “oppression” of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but also argued this zeal became a particular “holy crusade” to destroy Indian culture and “bring the status of the Indian into line with the Mormon church doctrine” of assimilation.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, xiii-xvi, 101. Asymmetrical gift exchange and paternalism-dependency are the pervasive themes of Holt’s dissertation and book. Compare similar arguments in Ramon A. Gutiérrez’s study of Spanish-Pueblo relations in *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991). Holt draws comparisons from Goodell’s study of Potlatch among Northwestern Coast Indians (“Paternalism, Patronage, and Potlatch”), 249-66. The anthropology classic on which the gift exchange and dependence theory is based is Marcel Mauss’s *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1954).

⁵⁵ Y. T. Witherspoon, “Interim Report for the Educational-Vocational Survey of the Ute, Kanosh, Koosharem, Indian Peaks, and Shivwit Indians,” Salt Lake City: Extension Division, University of Utah, 1955 p. 2, cited in Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, 100, 107. Children on placement were fostered by Mormon families during the school year.

⁵⁶ As noted in Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, 107-108 (Indian Placement), 112-24 (claims cases); R. Warren Metcalf, *Termination’s Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002). The law firm that handled the majority of Indian claims cases was Mormon-dominated Wilkinson, Cragun, and Barker. Wilkinson represented the Utes, while John Boyden, also a Mormon and subsequent Ute tribal (and mixed-blood Affiliated Ute’s) attorney, represented the Southern Paiute. Most attorneys preferred the profitable claims cases. See Kenneth R. Philp, ed., *Indian Self Rule: First-Hand Accounts of Indian-White Relations from Roosevelt to Reagan* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1985), 154-55.

⁵⁷ Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, 63, 68, 72, 78, however Metcalf in his *Termination’s Legacy* is equally condemnatory of the well-meaning Mormon ideologue and his several Mormon “allies,” especially John Boyden, whose handling of terminated mixed-blood Ute affairs resulted in their almost total dispossession.

On the other hand, Robert S. McPherson has remained a much less strident critic of Mormon-Indian relations, and many of his own or co-authored works have focused less on Mormon-Indian than on white-Indian, Indian-Indian, or Mormon-gentile relations (in which Indians were usually caught in the middle).⁵⁸ But he also noted that in southeastern Utah, as elsewhere—and despite eulogistic rhetoric from local historians to the contrary—prejudiced, patronizing, and sometimes abusive Mormons also “helped to fan the coals” of Mormon-Indian conflict and, as Gustive Larson and Charles Peterson noted, the region was beset with “four decades of nagging discord.”⁵⁹

For example, as late as 1962 Albert Lyman was still describing southeastern Utah’s “fierce Paiute” as a “smouldering, defiant” tribe who “craved warfare with its promise of cruel pleasure and unlawful gain,” for whom luring pursuers into ambushes was a game and a “glorious expression of their ancient and cherished [Gadianton] impulses,” and Indian Rights proponents who wined, dined,



D.M. COOPER PHOTOGRAPH, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Posey (l) and Polk or Poke (r) were embroiled in conflicts and controversy in southeastern Utah. Local histories and Albert R. Lyman’s flamboyant writing branded Posey and other Weeminuche Ute and San Juan Paiutes as troublemakers and “Gadianton” robbers. Photo taken about 1915 in Moab.

See also, Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, This Is the Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith, 1996), 381-82; and Philp (ed.), *Indian Self Rule*, 114-28. Most historians recognize that concern over budget deficits, dissatisfaction with the bloated and ineffective BIA, and an anti-communist shift in Washington also fanned the flames of termination.

⁵⁸ For example, McPherson focused on the controversial trader, Henry L. Mitchell. See Robert S. McPherson, “Navajos, Mormons, and Henry L. Mitchell: Cauldron of Conflict on the San Juan,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer, 1985): 248-67. Regarding law enforcement in San Juan, see Thomas Austin and Robert S. McPherson, “Murder, Mayhem, and Mormons: The Evolution of Law Enforcement on the San Juan Frontier, 1880-1900,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 55 (Winter 1987): 36-49; and for an in-depth look at the Pinhook Draw fight, see Rusty Salmon and Robert S. McPherson, “Cowboys, Indians, and Conflict: The Pinhook Draw Fight, 1881,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 69 (Winter 2001): 4-28. His *Staff Ride Handbook for the Battle of Bear River, 29 January 1863* (Riverton, UT: Utah National Guard, 2000) provides a purely military-history look at the battle with the Shoshone on Bear River. Respected by both Indians and non-Indians, McPherson wrote both the prefatory “Setting the Stage: Native America Revisited” and concluding chapters in Forrest Cuch, ed., *A History of Utah’s American Indians* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs and Utah State Division of History, 2000).

⁵⁹ Robert McPherson, “Paiute Posey and the Last White Uprising,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 249-51; see also his *History of San Juan County*, 147-61; Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws*, 12, 17, 20, 96, 99; Gustive O. Larson and Charles S. Peterson, “Opening the Colorado Plateau,” in Poll, (ed.), *Utah’s History*, 381.

and engineered the 1915 release of “vicious scoff-law” Indian killers, as “crack-brained.” The Mormon posse who pursued Posey’s “blood-thirsty outfit” in 1923 were heroic and “pulsating with eagerness” to resolve their own Indian problems before “bungling outsiders could mess things up.”⁶⁰ McPherson, however, debunked both the supposed premeditation of Posey’s “uprising” and the Mormon heroics, and demonstrated how the “war” was little more than the desperate flight of a frightened, vulnerable, dispossessed and destitute people, terrified of Mormon vigilante justice.⁶¹

By the end of the twentieth century revisionist historians had drawn a grim picture of the failure of Mormon idealism—or its blatant hypocrisy. They had found that, despite official rhetoric to the contrary, the ideal of Indian redemption had been overshadowed by the realities of a deliberate and calculated usurpation of Indian lands, creating a pattern of conquest, exploitation, and oppression that was simply a repetition of white-Indian relations elsewhere in the country.

But as McPherson rather understatedly noted in his introductory chapter to the centennial *History of Utah’s American Indians* (2000), historians continue to give differing reviews of Mormon-Indian relations. He also suggested that because of these differing interpretations readers would need to decide for themselves how to view Mormon-Indian relations.⁶² But this begs the question. Readers of history expect their historians to *tell* them what the events mean, for facts seldom speak for themselves, but achieve meaning only as they are interpreted by scientists and scholars. This is especially true for history, where scholars sift through evidence, picking and choosing what they believe is significant, and interpreting it through the lenses of their own paradigms and biases. No historian can escape the influence of their own perspectives, including this writer; however, after thirty years of being pulled through the interpretive tides of revisionist opinions about Mormon-Indian relations, I would argue that, while spattered with injustice and abuse, the pattern of Mormon-Indian relations still differed to a *significant* degree from Indian relations elsewhere on the

⁶⁰ Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws*, 59, 67, 159–70, esp. 165, 170–71, 177, and *Outlaw of Navaho Mountain*. See also, Perkins, Gardner, and Jones, *Saga of San Juan*. Lyman was a participant-observer to the conflict and in 1923 Lyman wrote that Posey’s “fierce ancestors” were of the “Gadianton persuasion,” had “known no law, but in idleness had contrived to live by plundering their neighbors,” and that Posey had “inherited the instinct of this business from robbers of many generations” (from “A Relic of Gadianton,” as cited in McPherson, “Paiute Posey,” 252). Ironically, Lyman postscripts his offensively racist *Outlaw of Navaho Mountain* by expressing his warm regards for the Indian people, and noting that Posey was not bad at heart, just undisciplined and understandably resentful of white incursion. Lyman’s Paiute were Weeminuche Ute, San Juan Band Paiute, and Ute/Paiute mixed-bloods.

⁶¹ Cf. McPherson, “Paiute Posey,” esp. 249–50, 254–56, 266, with Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws*, 170–89; and *Outlaw*, 184–229. See also McPherson’s *History of San Juan County: In the Palm of Time* (Utah State Historical Society and San Juan County Commission, 1995), 147–61; and McPherson, *Northern Navajo Frontier*, 53–55, 70–72, 94. Cf. Francis Parkhill, *The Last of the Indian Wars: The Final, Heroic Fight of the American Indian for Independence* (New York: Collier Books, 1961), from which McPherson drew his “Last White Uprising” twist.

⁶² Robert McPherson, “Setting the Stage: Native America Revisited,” in Forrest Cuch, ed., *A History of Utah’s American Indians*, 21.

American frontiers, particularly during the first fifteen years of Mormon settlement.⁶³

Dean May wrote in 1987 that although Mormons “shared the widespread animosity of most frontiersmen towards the Indians, . . . their disposition was tempered by [their] singular teachings and beliefs” and they made “extraordinary efforts to befriend and convert the Indians.” Peterson also introduced his *Utah’s Black Hawk War* by noting that “despite the bloody evidence” of Mormon atrocities against Indians, “compared to their gentile counterparts throughout the West . . . [they] displayed exceptional restraint” as a result of Mormon doctrine and the continual exhortations of Brigham Young. But, he added, the situation was complex and they “fell far short” of their ideal.⁶⁴

Brigham Young was troubled that his settlements were displacing Indians, but because the establishment of his Mormon kingdom was his first priority, he could not abandon his rapid colonization efforts.⁶⁵ Neither would—nor could—he compensate the Indians for the land his settlements were taking. He did, however, urge federal intervention with its treaties and annuities, encouraged vocational retraining on Indian farms or individual employment, and urged members to be generous in giving handouts to the Indians. Whether this was to “get the Indians out of his hair,” underhandedly manipulate them into not fighting, or a purely Christian altruism will forever remain in the interpretive eye of the beholder. But his policy of “assistance not resistance” *did* set the tone for Mormon Indian relations, and did result in a relatively milder response to the inevitable Indian-white conflict.⁶⁶

When Brigham Young brought the persecuted and harried Saints to Utah it was with the grim determination not to be moved again, and he admitted that he had been “prepared to meet all the Indians in these mountains, and kill every soul of them if we had been obliged so to do”⁶⁷; but most evidence suggests that killing Indians was *not* his first option, even during the violence of 1849-1851. Religious fervor aside, Brigham Young’s Indian policy was a pragmatic one—it really did cost more in money, lives, and labor lost to fight an Indian war; far better to placate, conciliate, and make friends with Indians than to fight them. Peace was essential to Young’s grandiose plans for colonization. To claim the territory, he planned to fling small settlements to distant parts where they would be highly vulnerable to attack, and would be linked by long stretches of equally vulnerable roads. When fragile relations between settlers and Indians broke

⁶³ My historical genesis occurred during the revisionist era of the 1970s; as a descendant of Mormon pioneers but the wife of a Native American who has never cared to celebrate “pioneer day,” it has been an interesting intellectual development.

⁶⁴ May, *A People’s History*, 102-103; Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 6-7.

⁶⁵ See for example, O’Neil and Layton, “Of Pride and Politics,” 237, 242-43; also Peterson, *Black Hawk*, 390, and Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier*, 49-50, 85.

⁶⁶ McPherson, “Setting the Stage,” 20.

⁶⁷ Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:105.

down, colonizing and other projects had to be abandoned or delayed. And converting Indians to Mormonism and farming was obviously more difficult when they were killing each other.

But hostilities were the exception. There is ample evidence to show that despite the intermittent (and occasionally bloody) conflict, an extraordinarily benign, symbiotic relationship *did* exist during the first years of Mormon-Indian contact, and as Peterson notes, the Utah Indian wars were generally fought between friends and acquaintances.⁶⁸ Indians were freely proselyted, hundreds of Paiute and Gosiute children were adopted into Mormon homes, and there was some intermarriage. Indians camped near major settlements, usually moved freely within and around them, were well known and often friends; they traded fish or game for food, exchanged captive children for arms and livestock, ate at Mormon tables, and occasionally worked for farmers or simply begged (or demanded) handouts—which they usually received.

Accusations against Mormons included complaints about their fraternizing and tampering with the Indians, and officials were continually being warned of Mormon-Indian alliances and of a “conspiracy” against non-Mormons. Pacifist Mormons who fed Indians were accused of supporting pillaging Indians or of even “instigating . . . acts of aggression” on the emigrant trails.⁶⁹ Brigham Young had to admonish some settlers not to mix “too promiscuously” with Indians so as to weaken missionary efforts. In 1865, O. H. Irish grudgingly admitted that Brigham Young had “pursued so kind and conciliatory policy with the Indians, that it has given him great influence over them”; in 1850, Captain Stansbury was surprised at the *reluctance* with which Brigham Young ordered out the militia against hostile Ute. Some observers remarked that Mormons justified and excused Indians more than the “hideous creatures deserved,” their treatment surpassing the patience of Quakers and Moravians; and in the cultural patchwork of southeastern Utah only one Mormon could be numbered among the nearly forty casualties of Indian hostilities.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Cf. Peterson's commentary in *Black Hawk War*, 6-7.

⁶⁹ Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, details many of the accusations of conspiracy, i.e., 34, 39, 63-64, 76-77, 82, 89-90, 99, 107, 228. Mormons were also accused of masquerading as Indians and attacking emigrants themselves. Both Madsen *Shoshoni Frontier*, 89, 220-21 and McPherson *Staff Ride*, 21 note the effect of the Mountain Meadows Massacre in “proving” Mormon-Indian collusion. The massacre of the Fancher party was supposedly perpetrated by Paiutes and local Mormons; later evidence showed it was entirely engineered by Mormons, and Paiutes today deny any participation at all, see Gary Tom and Ronald Holt, “The Paiute Tribe of Utah,” in Cuch, (ed.), *Utah's American Indians*, 131-39. See also Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), and Will Bagley, *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002).

⁷⁰ O. H. Irish, report of the Treaty negotiations [1865], as cited in O'Neil, “History of the Ute Indians,” 60-66; Christy, “Open Hand, Mailed Fist,” 223 citing October 15, 1849, *Journal History (JH)*, and BYMH, same date; Brooks, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, 35; Neff, *History of Utah*, 394; Stansbury, *Exploration*, 148-49; Elizabeth W. Kane, *Twelve Mormon Homes: Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Library, 1974), 40, 120; Robert McPherson, “Paiute Posey and the Last White Uprising,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 249-51, and *History of San Juan County*, 147-61; Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws*, 42.

In spite of occasional fallings out, most negotiating chiefs listened to Brigham Young as the “good father of the Indians” whose word they trusted, who did not “get mad when he hears of his brothers and friends being Killed, as the California [militia] Captains do.” Kanosh said Brigham Young did not talk two ways and deceive them as Washington officials did.⁷¹ Wákara called Brigham Young “a very good man” whom he “loved,” while chiefs at the Spanish Fork peace council refused to sign their treaty until Brigham Young approved it.⁷² Even Black Hawk turned to Young as a source of *puwá-vu* medicine power in his final years, and the tattered remnants of Sagwitch’s Shoshoni eventually placed themselves in the hands of the church in order to survive.⁷³

But Mormon settlers and Utah Indians were star-crossed neighbors. Simply by moving into and establishing resource-intensive settlements on Indian land Mormons cast themselves into the role of villain. Regardless of well-meaning intentions or moral imperatives to convert, befriend, and “rehabilitate” Indians, as Mormons continued to pursue their aggressive colonization efforts into every productive corner, resources disappeared and destitute Indians had to turn to (or against) Mormon settlers to survive.⁷⁴ Indians saw Mormon largesse as a fair tributary land-use fee and reparations for lost resources; the Mormons saw it as a burdensome welfare tax levied by an improvident and lazy people.⁷⁵ While many Indian men viewed farming as women’s work, Mormons viewed them as indolent. And as Mormons prospered, Indians died. With mounting tensions, the disintegration of relations was inevitable.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Tabby, through interpreter George W. Bean to Brigham Young, May 19, 1865, Brigham Young Collection, and “Proceedings of a Council with the Utah Indians” (at Spanish Fork farm), June 1865, as cited in Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 148 ft. 44, 151 (Tabby), and 80 (Kanosh).

⁷² Samuel N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West with Colonel Fremont’s Last Expedition* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860), 193.

⁷³ Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 352–56; Christensen, *Sagwitch*; Parry, “Northwestern Shoshone,” in Cuch, (ed.), *Utah’s American Indians*, 44–58.

⁷⁴ Historians, like McPherson, Madsen, and Holt, all emphasize the previously underestimated devastation wrought on traditional food-gathering cycles when Mormon settlers and non-Mormon emigrants appropriated or destroyed resources. See Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, and McPherson, i.e. “Paiute Posey,” 249–51, 264; “Indians, Anglos and Ungulates: Resource Competition on the San Juan,” in *The Northern Navajo Frontier 1860–1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), and *A History of San Juan County*, 145–51.

⁷⁵ For example, Garland Hurt complained that the settlers were forced to “pay a constant tribute to these worthless creatures,” and while the *Deseret News* complained of the “onerous” and “impoverishing tax levied on the citizens by having to feed the Indians,” the Shoshoni argued they owned the land, wood, and water, but had never been paid for it, see Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 67, 93, 84–85, 141. Wákara made it a practice to demand use-fee tribute from passing caravans before and after Mormon settlement, as did Utes in Colorado. Gwinn H. Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific* (Philadelphia, 1854; Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1957), 195–97, 213; and John C. Fremont’s experiences with Wákara, cited in Larson, “Wákara’s Half Century,” 238.

⁷⁶ Small-scale agriculture was practiced by some Utah groups before Mormon/Federal intervention, but mounted Utes seemed to be particularly disdainful of it. In 1873 White River Utes laughed at farming Uintahs, called them women, and claimed the work was the responsibility of the white agency employees. See J. J. Critchlow to Commissioner F. A. Walker, Sept. 1, 1872, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1872*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), 292.

Rank and file Mormons quickly grew frustrated when their idealistic vision of converting Indians overnight from savage nomads into civilized agrarians foundered, and grew resentful of the increasing burden of supporting a population of seemingly irresponsible beggars and thieves. Exasperated Mormons grew hostile toward Indians who not only took their proffered food, but continued to resent them, steal from them, and on occasion fight them in brutal, retaliatory uprisings.

Yet, few of Utah's Indians actually went to war, for these Great Basin natives were not a war-oriented people.⁷⁷ Warfare was "practically non-existent" among the Gosiute, Paiute, and Western Shoshone until revenge for abuse and starvation impelled them to "steal or starve."⁷⁸ The Northwestern Shoshone became more aggressive only after they grew destitute or responded to abuse from emigrants; and despite the existence of several prominent commercial raiding bands, the majority of the Western Ute avoided conflict.⁷⁹ Less than a hundred Timpanogos Utes were involved in the brief Provo rebellion of 1850, relatively few kinsmen of Arapeen and Wyonah perpetuated the "Walker" War, and at its height fewer than several hundred Indians—and not all of them Ute—were ever involved in the Black Hawk War at any one time. Though ill feelings and killings on both sides eventually drove non-combatant Ute into the hills or onto the new (and unprepared) reservation, and many undoubtedly rooted for the raider and may have benefited from his plunder, only a minority of them actually joined Black Hawk's opportunistic raiders and cattle-rustlers.⁸⁰

However, the Ute wars sowed the dragon's teeth of bitterness that has continued to scar Mormon-Ute relations for generations.⁸¹ War-induced hatred led to the rapid and bloody dissolution of the utopian Mormon dream of redeeming the "royal blood" of the Lamanites, and for some who were caught up in the violence, perhaps the disintegration of their very

⁷⁷ The "war ethic" was not developed among the Ute or other Basin Indians, although raiding-for-profit increased with the introduction of traders and European goods. See in Marvin K. Opler, "The Southern Ute of Colorado," in *Acculturation In Seven American Indian Tribes*, Ralph Linton, ed. (New York: Harper & Son, 1940), 123, 162-63.

⁷⁸ Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 70, 80, 91, 96, 137, 145-47, 163-64, 207, 218; Virginia C. Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis, Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 4.

⁷⁹ Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 30-34, 47-49, 80, 91, 93; Trenholm and Carley, *The Shoshonis*, 29. The leaders of the early Ute raiding bands—Elk, Wákara, Arapeen, Ammon, Sanpitch—were all related, and Peterson *Black Hawk War*, 7-8, and Chapter 2, argues that Black Hawk and his lieutenants also had close kinship ties with this same family. Others like Sowiette, Sowoksobet, Kanosh, and Tabby avoided conflict and counseled peace.

⁸⁰ For example, Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, or his "Mormons, Indians, and Gentiles and Utah's Black Hawk War" suggests the majority of raiders were Sheberetch Ute from the unsettled Manti/La Sal region, supplemented by Navajo (up to 50 percent of the raiders in 1866) and some adventurer Eastern Ute. When raiding became more dangerous than the horses or cattle were worth, Black Hawk's Eastern Ute and Navajo recruits abandoned the enterprise.

⁸¹ One of the great tragedies of the Black Hawk War for the Ute was that in trying to preserve the last of Ute land from Mormon encroachment and refusing to supinely accept the usurpation of the remaining Sevier River valleys, the charismatic chief only hastened the destruction and displacement of his people, opened even more territory to settlement, and created an enduring breach between the two people.

LDS Church President George Albert Smith symbolically reads from the Book of Mormon to two Navajo elders in the Southwestern Indian Mission, c. 1948-1959.



COURTESY OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS CHURCH HISTORY ARCHIVES

Christian morality itself.⁸²

The fallout of these uprisings would affect all of Utah's Indians, as attitudes on both sides shifted and hardened. It is easy to subscribe to a theoretical and idealistic dream like that of peaceful coexistence with a traditional enemy, but the reality of putting such a dream into effect is much more difficult. As popular

Welsh novelist Morgan Llywelyn put it, "We can all be good natured and charitable in the abstract, but given the hard realities of a jostled elbow or a stolen supper we tend to return to our most primitive selves."⁸³

In the face of jostled elbows and stolen cattle, many of the rank and file Mormons would revert to their primitive selves, following the pattern of other frontier settlers and hearkening to an older gospel that proclaimed the Indians to be *not* fallen Israelites, but as Cotton Mather put it in 1676, the "accursed seed of Caanan" and the agents of Satan instead, to whose extermination it was the duty of all good Christians to see.⁸⁴ Indians in general became the enemy, their extermination or expulsion justified in their attacks on God's community. Fearful or angry settlements like Circleville, Nephi, Manti, and later Blanding, who had previously maintained friendly trading relations with their Indian neighbors were, in the heat of the moment, willing to imprison or execute Indians on the mere suspicion of their complicity in raids, or dispatch the local militia for Indian scalps, not because the Indians had committed any offense, but simply because they *might* commit them. Some militia commanders were often over-eager to exact revenge on raiders, or in the name of pre-emptive

⁸² For example: the "same blood of royal parents,...they descended from a royal race," and "in search of Shenowab's children, Royal race." See in Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission*, quoting Parley P. Pratt, May 14, 1854, p. 34, and his own "Missionaries Song," p. 46.

⁸³ Morgan Llywelyn, *Lion of Ireland* (New York: Tom Doherty Associates, 1981), 443.

⁸⁴ Cited in Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1980), 195-97, and cf. to Increase Mather's 1637 call for Puritan rejoicing that they had "sent six hundred heathen souls to hell" following the Mystic River massacre p. 189.

strikes, blatantly disobey standing orders *not* to provoke or initiate fights. Even Brigham Young could be goaded into intemperate decisions in the heat of passion, as he was when he angrily ordered the militia to pursue raiders who had the temerity to attack nearby at the very time he was preaching conciliation in Manti.⁸⁵ Conscious of their frontier vulnerability, and trailing a heritage that stereotyped Indians as bloodthirsty savages, the equally angry local militia were eager to carry out such injudicious orders. Or exult when others exacted even harsher measures, as they did after Connor's brutal massacre at Bear River, when they echoed Cotton Mather's rhetoric in giving "a paean of thanksgiving" for the "intervention of the Almighty" and the "interposition of Providence" in ridding them of their vexing Indian neighbors.⁸⁶ Their settlements jostled and their suppers and livelihood quite literally stolen, local Saints were anxious for a blood atonement.

Benevolence could stretch only so far, and as Madsen noted, demands for food by hungry Indians "rapidly exceeded the willingness and resources" of the Mormon settlers to provide. As stock also continued to disappear, patience grew thin.⁸⁷

And Brigham Young's policy of defense and conciliation was a difficult one to follow. Rank and file members resented the time and effort it took to build defensive forts or consolidate herds. Mutinous settlers sometimes drew guns on Young's representatives and were arrested, tried, and excommunicated. Commanders were court martialed for refusing to follow orders. Settlers were reluctant to sell their cattle to buy guns, and could only watch, as the citizens of Ephraim, Allred's Settlement, and Circleville did, while well-armed Utes brazenly held them at bay while they drove off their cattle and horses. Despite warnings, individuals continued to work or travel alone, and occasionally became targets-of-opportunity for roving bands of Indian "terrorists." And some local leaders grew openly defiant of the peace policies of church leaders; it was easy, they argued bitterly, to counsel peace from the safety of distant, and well-protected Salt Lake City. Some even lied about Indian hostilities, or their role in them, in order to provoke sanguinary military action.⁸⁸

But many church members did *not* revert to rebellion or savagery, even

⁸⁵ For example, Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 163-64, 173 and *passim*; cf. McPherson's "Paiute Posey"; Christy, "Walker War," 401-405, 410-13 (i.e., Peter Conover, Stephen Markham, and Jabez Nowlin).

⁸⁶ Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 17, 22, 155, 197; and "Encounter with the Northwestern Shoshoni," 26; Scott R. Christensen's *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), 58-59.

⁸⁷ I.e., Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 128, 152-53; Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 58.

⁸⁸ I.e. Fort Utah (1850) and San Pete and Sevier settlers (1872). For the Provo War incident, see Christy, "Open Hand," 223; also, marginal notation regarding a statement to Brigham Young by Elder J. Bean regarding 1850 war, in BYMH, June 12, 1854, 17-18; and *JH*, Jan. 31, 1850; cf. Bancroft, *History of Utah*, 309; Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 22-23. For defiance of Brigham Young's peace policy and attempts to escalate hostilities and involve American troops to kill Indians, see in Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 366-67.

in the midst of the war. Many southern Utah saints dutifully tore down their settlements and consolidated at Parowan and Cedar City during the Walker War, while hundreds of their cattle were driven to an uncertain fate in Salt Lake City. Many were like Benjamin Johnson of Santaquin, or Dudley Leavitt and Jacob Hamblin, who were willing to defend Indian friends—or prisoners—to the death. Hamilton Kearns's unfailing friendship with the Indians bought his son respectful treatment from Black Hawk's raiders, Thomas Callister remained an unflagging defender of the Pahvant, and some had their cattle passed over or returned as a sign of friendship. Even in the midst of rising hostilities some friendships endured, or like the Cache Valley Mormons, still some supplied food to Indian bands (Col. Connor destroyed stores of Mormon-gifted grain following the Bear River massacre).⁸⁹ And as their initial anger with Mormons faded, it was to the Mormons the Northwestern Shoshone turned for help.

While much Mormon charity was purely defensive (feed rather than fight), not all was. Cache Valley bishops continued to feed the decimated Northwestern Shoshone long after they ceased to be a threat, and travelers in the 1870s still described Pahvants and Paiutes entertained at kitchen tables or given supplies from bishops' storehouses. Mormon missionaries and advocates continued to proselyte and work with Gosiute, Shoshone, and Ute farmers.⁹⁰

Nor were all Mormons bloodthirsty frontiersmen. Reddick Allred stopped troops from wantonly killing a hunting party, and Warren Snow chastised looters after the Squaw Fight. Church authorities reprimanded John Scott for being too sanguinary at Battle Creek, and excommunicated James A. Ivie for murdering a Pahvant elder after a Ute raid on Scipio. Some members of the militia protected Indian prisoners as did one man following the Pipe Springs attack, and Jacob Hamblin and Dudley Leavitt did during the expeditions against the Gosiute. Witnesses to Mormon killings wrote scathing denunciations, while others grew repentant in the wake of too-harsh actions.⁹¹ Not all Mormons had developed Winkler's "frontier mentality" of summary justice against Indians.

⁸⁹ For example, Christy, "Walker War"; Peterson, *Black Hawk*, 137-39, 173, 294-95; Jacob Hamblin Journal, July 15 and August 9, 1856; James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience As a Frontiersman, Missionary To the Indians and Explorer*, 2d. ed. (1881 Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909); Juanita Brooks, *On the Ragged Edge: The Life and Times of Dudley Leavitt* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1978). Also, McPherson, *Staff Ride*, 51; Christensen's *Sagwitch*; Whitney, *History of Utah*, vol. II, 423-26; Christy, "Walker War," 412; and Peterson, *Black Hawk*, 223, 165, 172, 294-96.

⁹⁰ For example, Kane, *Twelve Homes*, 65, 93; Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, passim; Dennis Defa, "The Gosiute Indians of Utah," Cuch ed., *A History of Utah's American Indians*, 107-13; Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 66; Koosharem and Thistle Ute in O'Neil, "History of the Ute Indians," 115-19; Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 338-43. Holt, *These Red Cliffs* of course describes ongoing, if cursory, gift-giving in the twentieth century.

⁹¹ See Peterson, *Black Hawk*, 223, 165, 172, 294-96; Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws*, 180; McPherson, "Paiute Posey," 259; Gottfredson, *Indian Depredations*, 25-29; Whitney, *History of Utah*, vol. II, 423-26. In 1965 James A. Ivie was restored to posthumous full fellowship in the church after Ivie family descendants lobbied the church presidency for it. See David O McKay, Hugh B. Brown, and Nathan E. Tanner to [Florence] Rees, and Rees to L. Ivie November 21, and December 6, 1965, Ms. A 751, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Neither did most Mormons revel in Indian dispossession or bloodshed, nor did they boast of it. Indeed, it is remarkable to note how many times Mormons, instead of trumpeting their victories over Indians as other frontiersmen did, would attempt to *cover up* their complicity in Indian slaughter, as was the case at Nephi and possibly at Manti in 1853, a small camp near Manti in 1865, the judiciously worded description of the 1865 Squaw Fight near today's Burrville, the murder of Piede Ute in Circleville in 1866, or the efforts of early Utah historians to downplay the bloody "battle" at Bear River.⁹² While the wave of hysteria following the brutal Givens massacre in 1865 may have "unleashed" the pent up frustrations and hatred of many Sanpete and Sevier county settlers some of whom had "long [been] known by their brethren for their extraordinary penchant for violence," not all were "eager" for blood.⁹³

Militias were recalled, and suggestions to poison springs tabled. Overzealous militia commanders were chastised, uncharitable settlers rebuked, and "peace missionaries" dispatched. Participants in the tragic Squaw Fight were troubled enough in conscience that apostle Orson Hyde felt compelled to preach a sermon to exonerate them for killing "Gadianton robbers."⁹⁴ But with some exceptions, most Mormons and their leaders, while willing to fight raiding Indians, condemned excesses, calling them "butchery," barbarous, or "cruel." Brigham Young himself would condemn the Circleville region as "cursed" because of the massacre of Pieves there.⁹⁵

This was a vastly different pulpit rhetoric than that which followed other Indian massacres, like that of the Pequot at Mystic Village in Connecticut, the Pamunkey or Occaneechee of Virginia, the Cheyenne at Sand Creek in eastern Colorado, or the Apache at Camp Grant and Galeana in Arizona where exterminating Indians was *not* something to hide. Neither did most Utah settlers, even at the height of the Black Hawk hostilities, ever approach the blood-thirstiness of Californians who hunted Indians for sport, the settlers who had to be restrained by the army from slaughtering Indian refugees of the Rogue River War in Oregon, or the early New England, Virginia, or Carolina colonizers who enslaved or exterminated Indians indiscriminately.⁹⁶ No Indians were expelled at gunpoint as were

⁹² Christy, "Walker War," 410, 412; Peterson, *Black Hawk*, 247; Winkler, "Circleville Massacre," 18-21; Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 22, 155; Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 58.

⁹³ Peterson, "Black Hawk War," 183, and 146-47, 176-78.

⁹⁴ Jens Weibye describes this sermon in his journal (in Danish), August 3, 1865, cited in Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 172.

⁹⁵ For the incident at Circleville see diaries of Joseph Fish, as cited in Winkler, "Circleville Massacre," 20-21; Brigham Young see Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 147; and cf. Carter, *Our Pioneer Heritage*, vol. 9, 211. For the Nephi incident see Martha Spence Heywood, as cited in Christy, "Walker War," 412.

⁹⁶ For example, Gibson, *American Indian*, 186-99, 209, 212; Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 119-225, 164-65, 218-27, 298, 319-26; Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), 90, 99-100, 255-69; Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1967), 187, 192-93, 224-26, 291-97; Edwin R. Sweeney, *Cochise* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 313, 451-52 fn. 23, and i.e. 173, 187, 191, 195,

the Uncompahgre Ute, Cherokee, or Navajo. The Utes who fled to the reservation from the central Utah valleys during the Black Hawk War did so only to escape being caught in the crossfire, and while most remained in the dismal Uinta Basin, a few bands did return to settle again near Mormon communities. Gosiute, Southern Paiute, White Mesa Paiute/Ute, and some Northwestern Shoshone never did relocate, and Mormons continued to intermittently proselyte and teach these “scattered” bands. In some cases the church purchased land for Indian farms, or missionaries and bishops actively helped interested Indians to obtain deeded land or file for homesteads to avoid relocation.

A harried Brigham Young explored a variety of solutions to Mormon-Indian conflict. But despite mistakes, his overriding policy remained that of seeking peaceful solutions and proposing amnesty for combatants on both sides.⁹⁷ So, while some Indians were arrested and summarily executed *during* hostilities, in the wake of a negotiated peace, no chiefs were ever imprisoned or executed for their “war crimes” as leaders of Indian uprisings elsewhere frequently were.⁹⁸ Mormons even earned the ire of the nation when they went out of their way to *protect* the Pahvant perpetrators of the Gunnison massacre.⁹⁹

The Mormon experiment of living among and “redeeming” the Indian was a failure, and their vision of a benign and “assimilated” Mormon-Indian brotherhood an unrealistic one given the predisposing traditions and prejudices on both sides. Alongside the idealism and rhetoric had lain the self-interest that superceded selflessness as two “desperate” groups struggled for survival and competed for the same resources.¹⁰⁰ Pressed against the wall themselves, and jostled and victimized by “surly,” “insolent,” and “murderous savages,” some Mormons allowed the shallowly concealed fears and culturally nurtured prejudice to flare into open hostility and destroy the friendship and alliances that had once truly existed. A cycle of primitive, mutual retaliations ultimately spiraled Mormon-Indian relations downward, devolving for some into the very pattern of white-Indian relations they had

203-05, 56-57; also Dan L. Thrapp, *Conquest of Apachería* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), 79-94.

⁹⁷ Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 380-83, noted that Young’s “own Indian relations were extraordinary” as he “repeatedly sought peaceful solutions” and held out “undeviating offer[s] to ‘square off’” and end the fighting, and though he did issue an extermination order in 1850, he was also quick to rescind it. See Wells to Conover, March 21, 1850, in Coates, “Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policy,” 247-48; Christy, “Open Hand, Mailed Fist,” 231-33.

⁹⁸ For example, Gibson, *The American Indian*, 193-95, 329, 412, 417-18, 420-22 notes the fate of King Phillip, Osceola, and Modoc chiefs, the Nez Perce and Chiricahua Apache, and Kiowa chiefs Satanta and Big Tree; also see Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange man of the Oglalas* (1942; repr, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 404-13; Robert Emmitt, *The Last War Trail: The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 283-86.

⁹⁹ For example, see Ronald W. Walker, “President Young Writes Jefferson Davis about the Gunnison Massacre Affair,” *BYU Studies* 35:1 (1995): 117-49.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 390.

decried in others, and removal—or slaughter—seemed the only answer. But importantly, not all—and perhaps not even the majority—of either Mormons *or* Indians reverted to their primitive selves.

There *were* wars, hostilities did flare, and the bitterness of dispossession—violent or otherwise—remained. However, Mormon-Indian relations *had*, and in some cases continued, to differ from the frontier norm. We cannot completely dismiss as delusion and myth the perceptions of so many contemporary spokesmen from history—Mormon, Gentile, and Indian—that the Mormons *were* different from most Americans, and that for the most part their relations with the Indians *were* noticeably different from their gentile contemporaries. And even if the difference was only in a matter of degree, that degree was significant and preserved most of Utah's Indians from the wanton wars of extermination and deliberate political dispossession that shredded Indian peoples elsewhere.¹⁰¹

A renewed interest in those relations that *did* work has begun to reappear. For example, Brian Cannon and R. Kitchen's studies of Indian fostering remain positive, while Scott Christensen's 1999 biography of Shoshone Chief Sagwitch unabashedly praises Mormon efforts in behalf of the Northwestern Shoshone, and links the success of Mormon Shoshone farmers to the religious fervor of the 1870s that brought hundreds of Indians back to Mormon centers for baptism.¹⁰² Even Holt recognizes good "intentions," and some positive results from Mormon intervention in Paiute political, social, and educational affairs.¹⁰³

Meanwhile, revisionist studies increasingly recognize the complexity of Indian history, and instead of drawing starkly black and white portraits, have begun to look beyond static stereotypes to examine the multifaceted effects of changing technologies, ecologies, trade networks, commercial competition, and intra- and intertribal politics. Indians were not simply a background to be acted upon, but were intimately involved in tilting their own and others' subsistence patterns as they too exploited—and sometimes over-exploited—natural resources and alliances, or adapted internal and external politics to accommodate the *realpolitik* of modern government, economics, and identity.¹⁰⁴ Mormon-Indian relations, while still a signifi-

¹⁰¹ Examples abound, i.e. one Colorado Governor deliberately incited the Plains Indians in order to provoke wars that would lead to Indian removal, see Utey, *Frontiersmen in Blue*, 284-97, esp. 284; and another gained office with a "Ute Must Go" campaign, see Emmitt, *The Last War Trail*, 21-23, 868-87, 116-20, 232-38; Jorgensen, *Sundance Religion*, 44-49. Similar provocative situations existed in California and the Pacific Northwest during the Rogue River and Yakima wars, in Arizona against the Apache, or in the Sioux's Black Hills. While displaced Utah Ute suffered, they did not experience the Cherokee's "Trail of Tears," the Navajo's "Long Walk," the Nez Percés flight, the Apache exile in Florida, the cold-blooded extermination of the Pequots, Pamunkey, or Yamasee, or the expulsion of Uncompahgre from Colorado at bayonet point.

¹⁰² Cannon and Kitchen, "Indenture and Adoption," and Cannon, "Adopted or Indentured"; Christensen, *Sagwitch*, 107-14. Coates "Mormons and the Ghost Dance," 89-111 suggested the mid-1870s revivalism was also a result of the spiritual failure of the 1870-1872 Ghost Dance movement.

¹⁰³ Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, 108-09, 124, 125-47.

¹⁰⁴ For exploitation of resources, see McPherson, *Northern Navajo Frontier*, 5-19, 51-62, 71-95; "Paiute Posey," 249-50; *History of San Juan County*, 59-68, and "White Mesa Utes," in Cuch (ed.), *Utah's American*

cant aspect of this historical tapestry, has ceased to be the *only* thread in the weave.

Utah's statehood centennial has also inspired a series of new county histories which have attempted to take a stand somewhere in the middle, avoiding the euphemistic writing of an earlier era yet understandably skirting the revisionists' stark criticism of their sponsor (Utah). These histories present narratives that are more cohesive, objective, and politically correct than the mid-century DUP collections, but inevitably vary as they echo the voices and expertise of those sources on which they are based. So, for example, the voices of the official state and San Juan histories are those of the more moderate Thomas Alexander and Robert McPherson, while Dennis Defa's neutral *Utah History* encyclopedic entry is the primary source for Tooele's cursory Gosiute history; however, O'Neil's and Jorgensen's perspectives, filtered through Conetah's tribal history, continue to shape Uintah's Indian history, while a continued dependence on early Mormon reminiscences leaves the Sanpete history heavily oriented toward an older Mormon perspective of Indian relations.¹⁰⁵



COURTESY OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS CHURCH HISTORY ARCHIVES

Mormon farmers hired Southern Paiute and other Indian migrant workers, like these Navajo shown working in the beet fields of the LDS Sevier Stake (1958).

Indians, 244-48. Also see Ronald Walker and Dean C. Jesse, "Chief Walker and Brigham Young," in "The Historians' Corner," *BYU Studies* 32:4 (1993): 129, 133-34, citing from minutes of a meeting, June 14, 1849, with Walker, 129 and commentary, 133-34; Van Hoak, "Who Shall Have the Children," 10, 22 fn. 29; Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, 19-22; Kelly, "Southern Paiute Ethnography," 87-91, 174.

For examples of political accommodation, see Metcalf, "Lambs of Sacrifice: Termination, the Mixed-Blood Utes, and the Problem of Indian Identity," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64 (Fall 1996), *Terminations Legacy: The Discarded Indians of Utah* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002); and his doctoral research, "Arthur V. Watkins and the Indians of Utah: A Study of Federal Termination Policy," (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 1995); Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, and Tom and Holt, "The Paiute Tribe of Utah," 123-66; Defa, "The Gosiute," 73-122; Austin and McPherson, "Murder, Mayhem, and Mormons," Salmon and McPherson, "Cowboys, Indians, and Conflict," McPherson, "Navajos, Mormons, and Henry L. Mitchell," and essays in *Northern Navajo Frontier*, and his *History of San Juan*; Thomas Alexander, *Utah, The Right Place* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs-Smith, 1995).

¹⁰⁵ Alexander, *Utah, The Right Place*; McPherson, *History of San Juan County*. Ouida Blanthorn, *History of Tooele County* (Utah State Historical Society and Tooele County Commission, 1998) relies on Defa's entry in Allan Kent Powell ed., the *Utah History Encyclopedia* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994); and Doris Burton, *History of Uintah County* (Utah State Historical Society and Uintah County Commission, 1996) uses Conetah, *History of the Northern Ute*. Albert C. T. Antrei and Allen D. Roberts, *History of Sanpete County* (Utah State Historical Society and Sanpete County Commission, 1999), 63-80, esp. 66, 69, although recognizing that conflicts of interest and culture led to hostilities ("the ecological dislocations . . . spelled the end for Indian life," and that "cherished ideals of one culture were the unpardonable sins of the other"), relied on memory books, reminiscences, amateur historians, and Gottfredson's "standard account" of the Black Hawk War, rather than the significant number of published revisionist articles or dissertations (i.e. Coates, Christy, Metcalf, and others) on the extensive Mormon-Indian relations in the area. While they note the existence of Peterson's *Black Hawk War*, because of publication deadlines they probably had no time to read it.

Perhaps reflecting the view that Mormons were no different from other non-Indian frontiersmen, the tribally-sponsored *History of Utah's American Indians* tactfully sidelines *Mormon*-Indian relations in favor of a *white*-Indian history in which Mormons were simply part of the larger picture of (as Mae Parry put it) white America's "greedy" and "genocidal" conquest of the west where non-Indian immigrants saw the land as "theirs for the claiming," and where (as Clifford Duncan put it) invaded and displaced Indians had to depend on Mormon charity, and waded through vacillating federal policies in their struggle to survive.¹⁰⁶ Drawing upon non-Indian scholarship or written in partnership with non-Indian historians, the filtered voices of Jorgensen, O'Neil, and Christy, as well as later collaborative historians like Holt, Defa, and McPherson, resound loudly within its pages.

Despite O'Neil's belief to the contrary, many Utah ancestors undoubtedly *were* once the "friend of the Indian," though by 1866 the chilling effects of Gosiute and Shoshone raiding, and the reciprocal atrocities of the Black Hawk War had created a new world in which many Utah Indians could find few friends and but little benevolence from the Mormons. As a second generation of Mormons grew less vulnerable, became increasingly "Americanized," and turned to federal or judicial solutions, their peculiar standing with Indians dissipated. Settlements among the Navajo were lost, Ute bands were relocated and *un*-fellowshipped, and borderland Navajo and "scattered" bands became marginal, often exploited minority enclaves who remained clustered on traditional lands near Mormon communities.

Sinners mingled with saints in frontier Mormon settlements. And while the past four decades of revisionist history have added invaluable detail and insight into our understanding of Utah history, and despite learning of the "appalling blood-lettings" and occasional fury of which the all-too human Latter-day Saints were capable, the overall pattern of early Mormon-Indian relations still remains one in which Indians sized up a stranger by asking, "Is this man a Mormon, or an American?" and drew strong lines of demarcation between the two in favor of the Mormons.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Parry, "Northwestern Shoshone," 40; Duncan, "Northern Ute," 187-88; Defa "Gosiute"; and Tom and Holt "Southern Paiute" particularly note the twentieth century maze of governmental policies.

¹⁰⁷ References here to Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*, 155, 64; Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws*, 100; and McPherson, *Northern Navajo Frontier*, 31, 33, and esp. 35.



UNION PACIFIC HISTORICAL COLLECTION

Rendezvous at Promontory: A New Look at the Golden Spike Ceremony

By MICHAEL W. JOHNSON

Few events in American history are as seemingly well known as the Golden Spike ceremony, yet few events are as clouded by myth, misinformation, and contradictory source material. As the importance of the ceremony is largely symbolic and the sources are daunting, few scholars have had the time or inclination to approach it seriously. Most treatments of it appear in larger works on the transcontinental railroad and consist of uncritical renditions of traditional ideas, sometimes spiced with colorful yet dubious stories from railroad old timers. The exception is a pair of articles originally published in the 1950s by Dr. J. N. Bowman of the California State Archives. Dr. Bowman's research was thorough and wide-ranging, but even he noted the contradictory nature of the historical accounts left by persons present at the event. Many of his conclusions were based on interpretations of conflicting data, and that in itself suggests cause for scrutiny. Almost a half-century later, it seems proper to take

Workers and officials as Union Pacific Engine 119 and the Central Pacific engine "Jupiter" come to celebrate the completion of the transcontinental railroad on May 10, 1869.

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UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Group of Union Pacific Railroad engineers met at Echo, Utah, prior to the completion of the railroad at Promontory Summit.

another look at this historic event.¹

The United States was exuberant as the construction of the Pacific Railroad drew to a close in the spring of 1869. For many Americans, the building of this railway was the enterprise of the age—a sign of the nation's greatness. It touched emotions deep in the American

character. Ideas of national union, manifest destiny, mastery of nature, and technical prowess were all embodied in the mammoth undertaking that was reaching completion. Union Pacific Railroad Director Sidney Dillon remembered, "Popular interest . . . had become so universal and absorbing, and the event of completion was awaited with so much anxiety, that a celebration of the occasion with some formal ceremony was not only proper but necessary to meet the public expectation."²

For Californians, the completion had special significance. The years of intense isolation from families and countrymen were about to end. Dr. J. D. B. Stillman expressed the feelings of fellow Californians when he wrote:

When we stood for the first time on the iron-bound shores of the Pacific a generation ago and looked upon their desolate mountains, after a voyage of more than half a year, we thought in our hearts that the last tie that bound us to our native land was broken. We did not dream that the tie that was to reunite us, and make this our native land forever, was then flourishing as a green bay tree in our woods.³

Stillman was referring to the highly polished crosstie of California laurel, the ceremonial "Last Tie" used at the completion of the Pacific Railway, an event he was privileged to attend. For him and thousands of Americans in the Far West—people who had journeyed far, endured great hardship, and

¹ J. N. Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike at Promontory," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 37 (Winter 1969): 78. Due to the noise and crowding, few people at the ceremony could see and hear everything that occurred. Press reports from correspondents in attendance are often contradictory. Additionally, many accounts left by oldtimers years later are embellished, show the influence of previously published accounts, and contain factual errors. A few may be total fabrication. For a more complete discussion of the sources, see the author's report "The Golden Spike Ceremony Revisited" at Golden Spike National Historic Site.

² Sidney Dillon, "Historic Moments: Driving the Last Spike of the Union Pacific," *Scribner's Magazine* vol. 12 (August 1892): 257.

³ Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, "The Last Tie," *Overland Monthly*, 1869 vol. III: 77.

pioneered a new country—the completion of this railroad was the fulfillment of a vision and the beginning of a new and better era.

Citizens of the East were excited by the completion of the transcontinental railroad, but westerners were profoundly affected. It is no wonder that most of the planning and inspiration for the ceremony came from Californians. Indeed, Central Pacific Railroad President Leland Stanford had, years before, turned the project's first shovelful of earth in Sacramento, and there was sentiment in California that he should travel to Promontory to drive the last spike. On the other hand, Sidney Dillon recalled that Union Pacific officials were "so much occupied pushing construction and overcoming pecuniary embarrassments . . . that there was no opportunity to make arrangements on any adequate scale."⁴

The completion ceremony of the Pacific Railroad might have been nothing more than a few windy speeches but for the inspiration and generosity of one man. David Hewes was not an official of either railroad and did not attend the event, yet he did more to shape the ceremony than any other. Hewes, who was Mrs. Jane Stanford's brother-in-law, owned steam shovels and had made his fortune as a contractor filling wetlands around San Francisco. A longtime Pacific Railroad booster, he was dismayed that so little was being done to celebrate its completion. Hewes wrote, "There was no proper sentiment being expressed by the people of the Pacific Coast, and especially by the great mining industries of the territories through which this railroad passed, it came to be my thought that the Central Pacific and Union Pacific should not be united except by a connecting link of silver rails."⁵ He dropped the idea of the silver rails but instead ordered a beautiful spike of gold to be cast and finished by the San Francisco firm of Schulz, Fischer, and Mohrig. This would be his contribution to the completion of the great railway. Hewes' golden spike was the size of a common railroad spike. It weighed 14.03 troy ounces and was 17.6 carat gold alloyed with copper. The casting sprue, described as a nugget, was left attached to its point. This was eventually broken off and fashioned into souvenirs. On its head was engraved "The Last Spike." On the four sides of the shaft were engraved the starting and ending dates of construction, the officers and directors of the Central Pacific, and an appropriate sentiment. Before the spike left with California Governor Stanford for Promontory, it was displayed in both San Francisco and Sacramento.⁶

In his reminiscences, Hewes also stated that he presented a polished tie of California laurel to be used in the ceremony. He may have had a role in the creation of the laurel tie, but it was actually presented by Central Pacific

⁴ Dillon, "Historic Moments," 257; Stillman, "The Last Tie," 83.

⁵ "History of the Golden Spike," unpublished report for the Union Pacific Railroad at Golden Spike National Historic Site, 1949, 24. This report contains several transcripts of primary sources dealing with the Golden Spike Ceremony.

⁶ Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike," 79; "History of the Golden Spike," 24; "The Last Spike," www.stanford.edu/dept/ccva/spike.html (Accessed May 16, 2001).

tie contractor West Evans. This crosstie was made and polished by Strahle & Hughes, a San Francisco manufacturer of billiard tables. A silver plaque on the face of the tie stated, "The last tie laid on completion of the Pacific Railroad, May 1869." Also engraved were the names of the maker, the officers and directors of the Central Pacific, and that of Mr Evans.⁷

Hewes's idea of precious spikes was soon picked up by others. Frank Marriott, publisher of the San Francisco *Newsletter*, jumped on the bandwagon and commissioned the creation of a second golden spike. Newspapers described it as about five inches long and about nine and one-half ounces in weight. Its inscription read, "With this spike the San Francisco *Newsletter* offers its homage to the great work which has joined the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This month, May, 1869."⁸

Anson P. K. Safford, the newly-appointed governor of Arizona, happened to be in California at the time and decided to contribute a ceremonial spike on behalf of his territory. This spike was made of iron and was beautifully embossed with gold and silver decoration. Not to be outdone, Nevadans contributed a solid silver spike to the proceedings. Ordered at the last minute, it was not properly finished or engraved when it was rushed by buggy to rendezvous with Stanford's Promontory-bound train.⁹

To ceremonially "drive" the spikes, a special silver-plated spike maul was ordered by the Pacific Union Express Company. It was made by Conroy and Conner and plated by Vanderslice and Company, both of San Francisco. This, too, was displayed in Sacramento and San Francisco before the ceremony.¹⁰

Having inspired the creation of the precious spikes, Hewes also originated the idea of signaling the driving of the last spike through the telegraph system. In consultation with officers of the Western Union Telegraph Company, he determined that a telegraphic signal from Promontory could be used to fire a heavy cannon at San Francisco's Fort Point. Hewes contacted Governor Stanford and "suggested to him the plan of attaching a wire to throw over the company's telegraph line and thus connecting with the Golden Spike, and have it operate in some way like a telegraph instrument, so that the signals for the firing of heavy guns by electricity could be produced." General Ord supported the idea, and the details were worked out by Central Pacific Telegraph Superintendent F. T. Vandenburg, Western Union personnel, and Major A. W. Preston. The idea grew and other cities were invited to announce the news the same way. The *Daily Morning Chronicle* of San Francisco enthusiastically reported that "arrangements have also been made to fire signal-guns by similar means at Chicago, New York, St. Louis and other principal Atlantic cities, and it is intended, if possible, to

⁷ Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike," 87; "History of the Golden Spike," 24.

⁸ *The [Corinne] Utah Daily Reporter*, May 12, 1869.

⁹ Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike," 81-83. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* reported in its coverage that Montana and Idaho contributed ceremonial spikes, but there is no other evidence to suggest this.

¹⁰ *The [San Francisco] Daily Morning Examiner*, May 6, 1869.



UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

make the stroke of the President's hammer fire guns in London, Paris, Vienna and St. Petersburg."¹¹

Union Pacific Railroad construction camp, Promontory Summit, May 10, 1869.

Officials of the two railroads had set Saturday, May 8, to be the date of the completion event. As the trip to Promontory took more than two days, Governor Stanford and his companions left Sacramento the morning of May 5. Their special excursion train, which consisted of the locomotive *Antelope*, a provision car, and the Central Pacific Commissioners' car, ran as an "extra" a few minutes behind the regular eastbound passenger train. As the special train departed around 6:45 a.m., Stanford stepped to the rear platform of his car. The crowd gave him "three hearty cheers and a tiger," and Stanford bowed and removed his hat. Also aboard were government railroad commissioners William Sherman, J. W. Haines, and F. J. Tritle, California Chief Justice Silas W. Sanderson, Governor Anson P.K. Safford of Arizona, Collector G. T. Gage of Nevada, publisher Frederick MacCrellish of the San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, photographer Alfred A. Hart, and prominent Sacramento citizens Edgar Mills, Dr. J. D. B. Stillman, and Dr. H. W. Harkness.¹²

The train gradually climbed toward the crest of the Sierra Nevada, and the excursionists enjoyed striking views of the tall pines and deep canyons. Lunch was served near Donner Lake. As the train began its descent along the Truckee River, one of the travelers was riding up front on the engine's pilot. It was at this moment that a crew of Chinese lumbermen, who did not know there was an unscheduled train coming, dropped a massive

¹¹ "History of the Golden Spike," 25; *The [San Francisco] Daily Morning Chronicle*, May 7, 1869.

¹² *The Daily Alta California*, May 6, 1869; Stillman, "The Last Tie," 77-78.

pine log down onto the track. Dr. Stillman later recalled that “The short turns of the road prevented the threatening danger from being discovered until we were almost upon it.” The quick action of the engineer and “the lightness of the train, saved us from catastrophe.” The heavy log was picked up by the cowcatcher and pushed aside allowing the train to pass.¹³

The gentleman riding the cowcatcher jumped and was only slightly injured, but the locomotive Antelope was crippled. It limped down the Truckee Canyon, pulling its train into Wadsworth, Nevada, near sunset. There the Antelope was uncoupled and sent to the shops for repair, and Stanford’s special was attached to the regular east-bound passenger train.¹⁴

With the Central Pacific engine Jupiter in the lead, the Stanford party continued eastward across the forty-mile desert between the Truckee River and the Sink of the Humboldt. In the days of the gold rush, this was arguably the worst section of the overland journey. The water was poisonous and there was no forage for livestock. Some of the excursionists had been forty-niners and had traversed this country when the going was rough. As they sped along in relative comfort, they pointed out the places where their animals had died, where they had abandoned wagons, and where they had rammed the muzzles of their precious guns into the earth—left behind in a desperate struggle to survive. On this night, they retired to spring beds and slumbered across Nevada.¹⁵

The Central Pacific dignitaries reached Elko the following day, May 6, where most of their fellow passengers departed for the mining camp of White Pine. Photographer Alfred A. Hart captured several views of Nevada stations and scenery as the trip progressed. It was an uneventful day for the excursionists, but it was a violent day at Promontory. Hundreds of Chinese workers at Central Pacific’s Camp Victory had been idle for days, and a riot broke out between the rival companies of See Yup and Yung Wo. An eyewitness wrote, “The row began about \$15 due from one Company to the other.” Both groups of Chinese workers were “armed with every conceivable weapon.” In the fight that ensued, “Several shots were fired,” none were apparently wounded from the gunfire, and Superintendent Strobridge and several of the foremen stepped in to breakup the fight. In part the fight between the two Chinese factions was a result of “bitter feeling between them growing out of the political troubles in China.”¹⁶ Though the situation remained tense between the two Chinese groups, no further violence occurred. Hours later, on the morning of May 7, the

¹³ Stillman, “The Last Tie,” 79. The pilot, sometimes called a cowcatcher, was an angled guard on the front of the locomotive whose purpose was to deflect obstacles blocking the track.

¹⁴ Stillman, “The Last Tie,” 80.

¹⁵ Stillman, “The Last Tie,” 80-81.

¹⁶ *The Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1869. The mid-nineteenth century was a time of civil unrest in many areas of China. Most notable was the Taiping Rebellion in the south, a fourteen-year struggle in which millions perished.

Stanford party arrived at Promontory, fully expecting the completion ceremony would take place the following day.

The California excursionists were soon disappointed. The day was rainy, and the camp of Promontory offered few civilized amusements. According to Dr. Stillman, the place consisted of a few tents and “such neighbors as would make it dangerous to venture away from the car, lest we have our throats cut”¹⁷ Spirits were dampened further when they visited the Union Pacific telegraph tent. There they received a terse telegram from UP Director Sidney Dillon stating, “Impossible to make connection until Monday noon.”¹⁸

Though the UP offered no explanation for the delay, rumors surfaced. A telegrapher mentioned overhearing a message that Union Pacific Vice President Thomas C. Durant was being held hostage in Wyoming. The day before, Durant and UP director John Duff traveling eastbound had been waylaid by angry workers at Piedmont in southwestern Wyoming.¹⁹ Hundreds of men, unpaid for months, gathered around the train and demanded money. When their demands were rebuffed, they surreptitiously uncoupled Dr. Durant’s palace car from the train and as the engine moved away the palace car was not in tow. The incensed conductor demanded to know who had pulled the coupling pin, and his reply came from a pair of pistol-toting toughs who advised a rapid departure. Seeing the merit in the suggestion, the conductor signaled his engineer and the train departed without the Union Pacific officials.²⁰

Durant’s car was surrounded, moved to a sidetrack, and chained in place. Scouts were posted to raise an alert if troops approached, and the telegrapher was told he would be hanged if he wired for assistance. Leaders of the mob demanded that Durant send for the unpaid wages. If not, he would be taken to the mountains and fed nothing but salt horse and sagebrush. Durant telegraphed for \$80,000, and the palace car remained under guard.²¹

The following day, May 7, it appeared that the United States Army might come to the rescue. A troop train loaded with several companies of the Twenty-first US Infantry, en route for duty in California, was approaching. Durant decided to avoid confrontation and arranged for the troop train to

¹⁷ Stillman, “The Last Tie,” 81.

¹⁸ Dillon to Stanford, May 7, 1869, S. B. Reed telegrams 1869, Levi O. Leonard Collection, University of Iowa Special Collections.

¹⁹ *The Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1869; *Bulletin*, May 11, 1869; “History of the Golden Spike,” 39-A, 39-B; “First Train West,” *Sacramento County Historical Society Golden Notes* (April 1969), 22; Grenville Dodge to Anna Dodge, May 6, 1869, Dodge Record, vol. VIII, 235, Iowa State Archives. There is some discussion among various authors as to which way Durant and Duff were traveling when they were taken hostage. While the article contains some factual errors, the *Bulletin* states that the men were eastbound. Entries in the diary of Union Pacific bridge engineer Leonard Eicholtz confirm that Duff was present in Utah as early as April 27 and Durant as early as May 5. In a letter to his wife the day of the affair, Dodge says the men were traveling east on a pleasure trip.

²⁰ Stillman, “The Last Tie,” 81; *The Daily Alta California*, May 10, 1869.

²¹ *The Daily Alta California*, May 10, 1869.

run through without stopping. The hostage standoff continued as the mob waited for its money.²²

Out at Promontory, the California excursionists huddled in their cars to escape the bad weather. Union Pacific tracklayers completed track to the summit area in the late afternoon, and UP engine 66 rolled to within about one hundred feet of the Central Pacific rails. Its safety valve popped, sending steam rings high into the still air, and the nearby Central Pacific engine Whirlwind answered with its whistle. Employees of the two roads examined each other's locomotives, and East and West had finally met.²³

If the delay of the ceremony was disagreeable for those at Promontory, it was infuriating for the people in Sacramento and San Francisco. They had planned huge celebrations for May 8, and the cities were decorated and ready to go. Central Pacific director Charles Crocker, in Sacramento, made assurances that as far as the Central Pacific was concerned, the last tie and spike of their road would be laid on schedule. The celebration committees notified the public that, in spite of the rumors, the parades and speeches would go on as planned.²⁴

The morning of May 8, people in San Francisco and Sacramento prepared to celebrate. At Promontory, the Stanford party was greeted by UP track contractor Jack Casement and a special Union Pacific train. They were soon on their way eastward, enjoying dramatic views of the Great Salt Lake and the snowcapped Wasatch Mountains. Photographer Hart captured several views, and lunch was prepared at Taylors Mills near the Weber River. Returning through Ogden, the group walked about a mile into town to a hotel where they were the guests of railroad contractor and Mormon Bishop Chauncey W. West. The locomotive whistled at five o'clock, Stanford's group returned to its train, and they began the journey back to Promontory. A correspondent accompanying the party wrote, "A more quietly agreeable excursion was never enjoyed anywhere than this, around the green shores of the mountain-girded sea, in the heart of the American continent."²⁵

It was not so quiet a day in California. Cannon at Fort Point and Alcatraz fired a salvo, steam whistles shrieked, and fire bells rang. A grand procession started around 11:30 a.m. through streets gaily decorated with flags and bunting. Mounted police and trumpeters led the parade, followed by Grand Marshall A. P. Stanford, Leland Stanford's brother. Nine divisions trailed behind including soldiers, bands, fire engines, ethnic associations, craft workers, and decorated wagons. The seventh division featured David Hewes and fifty men wearing yellow capes bearing the name "S.F. Steam Paddy Company." In Sacramento, thirty locomotives sounded their

²² *The San Francisco Bulletin*, May 11, 1869; "First Train West," 24.

²³ Stillman, 82; *The Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1869.

²⁴ *The Daily Alta California*, May 8, 1869.

²⁵ Stillman, "The Last Tie," 82; *The Daily Alta California*, May 10, 1869.



whistles, and a big parade followed. Orations, an original poem, and singing were offered later, and there was a grand illumination of the city that night.²⁶

***Central Pacific Railroad's Victory
construction camp, 1869.***

Back at Piedmont, Durant and Duff had something to celebrate. Ransom money had been sent to satisfy their kidnappers. An engine was dispatched to pick them up, and they arrived at the company headquarters in Echo City, Utah, at noontime on Saturday. Durant's palace car was parked alongside President Lincoln's former private car where Sidney Dillon was entertaining officers and ladies of the Twenty-first Infantry. The party soon moved to Durant's car where a sumptuous dinner was provided. The guests enjoyed roast beef, ham, oyster pie, two desserts, and champagne. The regimental band provided entertainment through the evening. Before the affair broke up, Durant offered his car to the ladies and suggested they all accompany him to the laying of the last rail on Monday.²⁷

There was still one major obstacle for the UP officials and their guests. Rising spring runoff in the lower end of Weber Canyon had rendered the bridge at Devils Gate impassable. One section of the trestle's framework was washed out. Crews had been at work reinforcing the structure since the previous Wednesday. It was still not safe on Saturday, and westbound passengers had been forced to leave their cars and walk around the bridge in a driving rain. However, the water began to subside, and progress was made. At 4:00 p.m. Sunday, the bridge was jacked up and cars began to cross.²⁸

Sunday was not a day of rest at Promontory, either. Union Pacific track crews broke ground on a turning wye and laid several hundred feet of track to connect with the Central Pacific. Only a small gap in the rails was left unfinished. At midday, the final stagecoach of the Wells, Fargo & Company's Eastern Division pulled in with forty bags of mail for the next morning's westbound train. Samuel V. Geltz, an employee of the company for eight

²⁶ *The [Sacramento] Daily Bee*, May 5, 1869, May 10, 1869; *The New York Times*, May 10, 1869.

²⁷ "First Train West," 23-24.

²⁸ "History of the Golden Spike," 39-B.

years, sat in the driver's seat of the stage. "The four old nags were worn and jaded, and the coach showed evidence of long service. The mail matter was delivered to the Central Pacific Company, and with that dusty dilapidated old coach and team the old order of things passed away forever."²⁹

Bored with life at end-of-track, the Stanford party decided to back up some thirty miles to a scenic location on the Great Salt Lake. The Jupiter pushed the Stanford special to a siding at Monument Point where the assemblage spent several pleasant hours along the shore of the great inland sea. The steward took his gun and managed to procure a number of game birds for dinner while Alfred Hart took pictures of the train and the landscape from various high points.³⁰

Meanwhile, in Weber Canyon, Durant's special train and the troop train carrying the Twenty-first Infantry slowly made their way toward the rickety but functional Devil's Gate bridge. Lieutenant J.C. Currier wrote that after leaving the train and walking for about two miles he and the soldiers, "got here at last at the '*Devils Gate*', and a fearful place it is . . . in this dark night with the black sides lit up by a bon fire at either end and the flickering lights of the workmen hammering away down in the bowels of the bridge seemingly holding on for dear life amid the roaring torrent! It almost makes me shudder to look! The cars were pushed down one by one and every one looked in silence as they were shoved slowly across."³¹

After watching the Durant car cross the bridge safely, the officers returned to the troop train and crossed about an hour later. By midnight they were in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake approaching Ogden. Sometime in the night, some of the infantry officers transferred to Durant's train so that they would arrive in time to witness the ceremony. UP engineer Leonard Eicholtz recalled that the Durant excursion reached the construction camp at Blue Creek around daylight. At 7:00 a.m., the African-American cook, clad in a white coat, served a delicious breakfast. It was Monday, May 10, and the long delayed completion ceremony was just a few hours away.³²

While Durant and his friends enjoyed their meal, a Union Pacific passenger train carrying several sight-seers from Corinne traveled westward. By eight o'clock it was winding its way up the Promontory Mountains through deep cuts and across frightening trestles. The train arrived at the summit some twenty minutes later. A correspondent described the scene. "Two lengths of rail are left for today's work . . . A large number of men at work ballasting and straightening out the track, also building a 'Y' switch. Fourteen tent houses for the sale of 'Red Cloud,'

²⁹ *The Daily Bee*, May 13, 1869; *The Daily Alta California*, May 10, 1869. A turning wye is a section of track shaped like the letter "Y." A train can back down one leg onto the tail, throw a switch, and go forward up the other leg headed in the opposite direction.

³⁰ Stillman, "The Last Tie," 82.

³¹ "First Train West," 25-26.

³² "First Train West," 26; "History of the Golden Spike," 39-B.

'Red Jacket,' and 'Blue Run' are about evenly distributed on each side of the track. Two engines are here."³³

Major Andrew J. Russell of New York, one of three photographers present that day, began work around 9:00 a.m., taking a series of photographs looking south-westward. They show the morning Central Pacific mixed train backed to the gap between the rails where passengers, excursionists, and workers are gathered. Those traveling on had but a short walk from one train to the other. While Russell completed the series of photographs, Stanford's special train, pulled by the Jupiter, approached the summit and came to rest on a siding behind a string of boarding cars, followed by two short work trains.³⁴

Eager to plan the ceremony, the California dignitaries found that their counterparts from the East had not yet arrived. They did not have long to wait. Durant's special, pulled by Engine 119, steamed into the summit area around ten o'clock. The Californians walked over to the palace car and offered greetings. Durant was a fashion plate in velvet coat and necktie, Dillon and Duff looked like proud fathers about to give away the bride, and Chief Engineer Grenville Dodge was all business. After pleasantries were exchanged, Sacramento banker Edgar Mills and Dodge were delegated the job of working out the program.³⁵

Another train soon arrived from the east. This probably brought up the celebrants and invited guests from Ogden and Salt Lake City. From Ogden came Mayor Lorin Farr, Bishop Chauncey W. West, and Apostle Franklin D. Richards. Salt Lake City was represented by William Jennings of the Utah Central Railroad, Bishop John Sharp, Superintendent of Indian Affairs



Union Pacific Railroad construction workers dressed in Confederate grays and Union blues gather at paymaster's car at Blue Creek later known as Lampo Freight Stop, near Promontory Summit. Photo by Andrew J. Russell c. June 1869.

³³ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 5, 1869. Red Cloud, Red Jacket, and Blue Run were apparently brands of liquor.

³⁴ *The Daily Bee*, May 13, 1869; Scott Eckberg, "Rolling Stock at Promontory" (unpublished report at Golden Spike National Historic Site), 13. There has been speculation that the CP train in the foreground of these images was that of James Strobridge. It is more likely the nine o'clock westbound train mentioned by the correspondent of the *Bee*. This series also shows, in the background, Stanford's train arriving.

³⁵ Stillman, "The Last Tie," 82.

Colonel F. H. Head, Ferramorz Little, R. T. Burton, General Patrick E. Connor, and Utah Territorial Governor Charles Durkee. Salt Lake's Tenth Ward Band, with new uniforms and instruments, came to provide music. Conspicuously absent was Mormon President Brigham Young.³⁶

A Chinese crew leveled the gap between the rails shortly before eleven. Then a white crew of Union Pacific workers laid the rail on the north side of the gap, and a cleanly frocked Chinese crew laid the final rail for the Central. A few spikes were left to be driven near the junction point. Western Union Superintendent W. B. Hibbard and Central Pacific Telegraph Superintendent F. T. Vandenburg supervised the men making the telegraphic connections. CP telegraph foreman Amos Bowsher and Western Union employee W. N. Shilling helped run wire to a specially prepared spike maul and iron spike. The operators on duty were Howard Sigler of the Central Pacific and W. E. Fredericks and P. Kearny of Western Union. Except for San Francisco, most cities had dropped the idea of using the telegraph to fire cannon. There had been too many technical obstacles. Instead, they connected their fire alarm systems to the telegraph line so that fire bells would chime as the last spike was driven in Utah.³⁷

Around eleven-fifteen, the locomotive Jupiter pulled the Stanford special forward to the end of the Central Pacific rails. Edgar Mills and General Dodge had reached an impasse, and there was still no plan for the ceremony. The disagreement was over the question of who would drive the last spike. Stanford had turned the first shovelful of earth years before, and Mills felt strongly that he should drive the last spike. Dodge apparently felt that this arrangement would not properly honor the Union Pacific. He threatened UP's withdrawal from the joint ceremony. Mills and Dodge finally resolved the dispute minutes before noon. At the close of the event, there would be a last spike for each railroad, and they would be driven simultaneously.³⁸

There was still much to do before the event began. The telegraph crew completed the wiring of the last iron spike and the maul that would pound it. Other laborers prepared a bed for the laurel tie. Russell captured an image of workers gauging and adjusting the last rails. The crowd of a few hundred was already pressing in, and some nearby wagons were lined up along the north side of the tracks to make an impromptu viewing plat-

³⁶ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 5, 1869; *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869. The reason for Brigham Young's absence may never be known with certainty, but he had been recently snubbed at end-of-track by Jack Casement and was already at odds with Union Pacific over payment for his construction contract.

³⁷ *The Daily Morning Chronicle*, May 11, 1869; *The Daily Examiner*, May 11, 1869; *The Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1869; *The [Ogden] Standard*, 7 May 1919; Heath, "Eye Witness Tells of 'Last Spike' Driving," 5. In the 1919 *Ogden Standard*, Shilling recounted his role as helping to connect the wires to the spike. He was not one of the three operators listed by *The Chicago Tribune*. Nevertheless, he claimed to have been at the key during the ceremony in subsequent discussions with historians Edwin Sabin and Levi O. Leonard. These later claims are suspect.

³⁸ *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869, May 12, 1869. Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike," 94; *The San Francisco Newsletter*, May 15, 1869. The *Newsletter* discusses this dispute and the compromise in detail.

form. Salt Lake photographer Charles Savage and Major Russell both posed the crowd and captured views of the last rail. Not to be outdone, Alfred Hart rearranged the crowd. Placing his camera in front of the Jupiter, he took two photographs showing the bed prepared for the laurel tie. The formalities were about to begin, and General Jack Casement urged the crowd to move back so that more people might see.³⁹

The noontime sun gleamed overhead as spectators jostled for position and dignitaries took their places. It was sixty-nine degrees on the shady side of the Central Pacific telegraph car. Jupiter, decorated with flags, faced the highly polished 119 to frame the action. A large twenty-star American flag fluttered atop a nearby telegraph pole. South of the rails was a small table where the telegrapher and his instrument were ready to keep the world informed. A few hundred people were present. Most of the spectators were probably Casement's workers who had ballasted track at Promontory that morning. Others were invited guests and excursionists from California, the East, and northern Utah. Some twenty women, mostly wives of railroad employees and military officers, were in attendance. Anna Reed, young daughter of UP engineer Samuel B. Reed, was one of a handful of children, and more than a dozen correspondents represented some of the nation's leading newspapers. Few Chinese workers seem to have been present, perhaps due to the recent violence at Camp Victory. There was just a small crew to level the gap between the engines and lay the last rail. It was a diverse group. The reporter from the *Chicago Tribune* commented: "The day was clear and beautiful, and the little gathering of less than 1,000 people, representing all classes of our people . . . met to enact the last scene in the mighty drama . . . The Occident and Orient, North and South, Saxon, Celt, Mongolian, each clad in his peculiar costume, met and mingled on common ground."⁴⁰

What happened next is not completely certain. While the various primary accounts generally agree on the elements of the ceremony, there is no consensus on the order of events. Fortunately, the press noted the time that reports from Promontory were received in the nation's capital. At 2:27 p.m., Washington received the message that the invocation was in progress. The next message, received at 2:40, announced that the spike was about to be presented. Seven minutes later at 2:47, Promontory declared the great work "Done."⁴¹

As the text of the speeches is known, perhaps five of the last seven minutes were taken up by oration. With the driving of the last spikes factored

³⁹ *The Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1869.

⁴⁰ *Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1869; *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869; Dillon, "Historic Moments," 258; "History of the Golden Spike," 22; Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike," 90, 91.

⁴¹ *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 5, 1869; *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869. Standard time did not exist in 1869. Communities operated on their local sun time. The difference between Ogden and Washington, D.C. is seventy-seven degrees of longitude. At four minutes a degree, this makes Promontory sun time approximately two hours and twenty minutes earlier than sun time in the nation's capital.

in, there seems to be no time for other events in this period. The laying of the laurel tie, which many accounts place after the presentation of spikes, must have occurred earlier. Indeed, most reports of the ceremony go right from the invocation to the presentation of spikes, yet the telegraphic reports indicate thirteen minutes elapsed between these events. The placing of the laurel tie and the ceremonial laying of the last rail must have taken place during these thirteen minutes. This scenario is supported by a *New York Times* account which begins with the invocation, moves to the laying of the last rail, continues with the presentation of spikes and acceptance speeches, and concludes with the driving of the last spikes. While the order of the ceremony's events may never be known with absolute certitude, the following interpretation matches the known events with the time sequence recorded in Washington, D.C.⁴²

The ceremony began shortly after noon when master of ceremonies Edgar Mills stepped forward. He read the program of events and was followed by the Reverend Dr. John Todd of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Todd, a reporter representing the Boston *Congregationalist* and the New York *Evangelist*, offered a lengthy opening prayer. The telegrapher sent a message to the waiting nation, "Almost ready. Hats off. Prayer is being offered." Meanwhile, Russell, Savage and Hart captured views of the assembled crowd, some on foot and a few on horseback, pressing in around the engines on both sides of the track.⁴³

The next order of business was to complete the laying of the last rail. A few spikes on the last rail remained to be driven, and a final bolt had to be fastened to make the last rail joint. The task was assigned to United States railroad commissioners J. W. Haines and William Sherman, President Henry Nottingham of the Michigan Central and Lakeshore Railroad, and a few of the other distinguished guests. These gentlemen stepped forward, and to the amusement of the crowd, flailed away in the clumsiest fashion. Haines, track wrench in hand, tightened the last bolt on the final fishplate.⁴⁴

The two superintendents of construction, Central Pacific's John Strobridge and Union Pacific's Samuel B. Reed, then brought up the laurel wood tie. With Reed on the south end of the tie and Strobridge on the north, they hefted it to the junction point and slid it into place. Four augur holes had been drilled into it to receive the four precious metal spikes.⁴⁵

It was now time for the presentation of the ceremonial spikes. Dr. H. W. Harkness of Sacramento gave a flowery speech offering California's

⁴² *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869. J. N. Bowman used similar reasoning in his interpretation of the ceremony but placed the installation of the laurel tie just prior to the beginning of the ceremony. Most accounts place this installation after the laying of the last rail.

⁴³ *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869; *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869.

⁴⁴ *The Daily Morning Chronicle*, May 11, 1869; *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869; "History of the Golden Spike," 28; *The Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1869. Fishplates are metal plates used to bolt rail ends together.

⁴⁵ *The Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1869; *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869. The *Alta* article mentions that Durant placed his golden spike in "the augur hole prepared for it."



ANDREW J. RUSSELL PHOTOGRAPH, AMERICAN GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

contribution of two golden spikes and the laurel tie. The telegrapher reported, "We have got done praying. The spike is about to be presented." Stanford seems to have gotten the highly decorated Hewes golden spike while Durant likely received the second golden spike. F. J. Tritle from Nevada presented the silver spike to Stanford. The final ceremonial spike was then offered to Durant by Governor Safford on behalf of the Arizona Territory. The precious spikes were placed in the augur holes of the laurel tie and remained there through the rest of the ceremony.⁴⁶

Railroad officials, some of their family members, U.S. Army, and others gathered at Promontory Summit to celebrate the wedding of the rails across the North American continent.

Governor Stanford made the first acceptance speech. After gratefully acknowledging the gold and silver gifts that had been presented, his remarks took on a decidedly commercial tone. He looked to the not-too-distant future when, he prognosticated, three tracks would be necessary to handle the flow of freight and passengers across the continent. Engines and cars would be light or heavy according to the speed required and the weight to be transported. He concluded by saying, "we hope to do, ultimately, what is now impossible on long lines—transport coarse, heavy and cheap products for all distances at living rates to the trade."⁴⁷

General Dodge responded for the Union Pacific in abbreviated fashion. He recalled that the famous Missouri Senator Thomas Hart Benton had once proposed the building of a giant statue of Columbus on the highest

⁴⁶ Heath, "Eyewitness Tells of 'Last Spike' Driving," 5; Stillman, "The Last Tie," 83; *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869; *The Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1869. Stanford returned home with the Hewes golden spike and the silver spike. It is likely he was presented these at the ceremony. The Arizona spike, which ended up with Sidney Dillon, and the second golden spike were likely presented to Durant.

⁴⁷ *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869; *The Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1869.

peak of the Rocky Mountains. Its outstretched arm would point westward denoting the route across the continent. Dodge exclaimed, "You have made that prophecy today a fact. This is the way to India."⁴⁸

Edgar Mills added a few words, then L. W. Coe, President of the Pacific Union Express Company, made a final presentation to Governor Stanford. Offering up a silver-plated spike maul, he made a short facetious speech repeatedly using forms of the word express. It was the least memorable of the unmemorable speeches made that day.⁴⁹

The silver-plated maul was set aside, and the telegrapher flashed another message, "All ready now; the spike will soon be driven. The signal will be three dots for the commencement of the blows." Durant took up a common maul and stepped to the north side of the track. Stanford took up the maul that had been wired to the telegraph line and advanced to the south side of the track. One iron spike, adjacent to the precious spikes and laurel tie, remained to be driven on each side. The Central Pacific spike was the one wired to the telegraph so that Stanford's blows would be transmitted across the nation. The telegrapher tapped out three dots and signaled "OK" to Stanford and Durant.⁵⁰

Later in life, General Dodge recalled that neither of the two officials "hit the spike the first time, but hit the rail, and were greeted by the lusty cheers of the onlookers." Stanford then made a few light taps on his spike, and his blows were transmitted across the nation. Anywhere from three to nine hammer blows were reported by different newspapers. In San Francisco the gun at Fort Point fired electrically as planned, and fire bells rang across the nation. Back at Promontory, the wire was disconnected from the CP spike, and several people were allowed to tap it. Construction superintendents Strobridge and Reed may have delivered the final blows. Edgar Mills announced the work done, and the Promontory telegrapher tapped out D-O-N-E.⁵¹

There was an immediate outpouring of emotion. The crowd roared, and locomotive whistles screamed. The *New York Times* reported: "The vast multitude cheered lustily, and Dr. Durant and Governor Stanford cordially greeted each other and shook hands. The doctor proposed three cheers for the Central Pacific Company, which was followed by the Governor's proposing three cheers for the Union Pacific Company." Dr. Durant then exclaimed, "There is henceforth but one Pacific Railroad [cheers] of the United States." The large crowd then offered "cheers...for the engineers,

⁴⁸ *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869; *The Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1869.

⁴⁹ *The Daily Alta California*, May 11, 1869.

⁵⁰ *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869, May 12, 1869; Heath, "Eye Witness Tells of 'Last Spike Driving,'" 5; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, June 5, 1869. The *Times* of May 11 recounts, "Driving of the last spikes by the two Companies; telegraph to be attached to the spike of the Central Pacific Company."

⁵¹ *The Daily Morning Chronicle*, May 11, 1869; "History of the Golden Spike," 29; *The Chicago Tribune*, May 11, 1869; Heath, "Eye Witness Tells of 'Last Spike' Driving," 6; Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike," 98. The *Chronicle* mentions that Mr. Strobridge assisted Stanford to drive the spike. Reed likely did the same for Durant. Dodge once mentioned that the spikes were finally driven home by the chief engineers of the two roads, perhaps meaning the chief construction engineers Reed and Strobridge.



UTAH TRAVEL COUNCIL UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

contractors, and the laborers” who toiled building the railroad.⁵²

In the midst of the excitement, the telegrapher sent messages to U. S. President Ulysses S. Grant and the Associated Press announcing the completion of the Pacific Railroad. Edgar Mills took advantage of a momentary lull to read these telegrams to the crowd. Almost immediately, a congratulatory reply was received from prominent Californians in New York. A procession of dignitaries and invited guests were allowed to tap the golden spike. Some of the military officers used their sword hilts, leaving curious small dents on the spike’s head. Then, their troop train having recently arrived, five companies and the band of the Twenty-first Infantry marched up to the strains of martial music.⁵³

Re-enactors prepare to drive the last spike to celebrate the centennial of the completion of the transcontinental railroad. A large crowd gathered to participate in the centennial event.

The railroad officials retired to Durant’s palace car to offer champagne toasts and read congratulatory telegrams from across the country. Journalists and military officers adjourned to the CP Commissioner’s car. There John Strobridge and Division Superintendent James Campbell hosted a champagne lunch. Strobridge introduced his longtime Chinese foreman and invited him to the table. A reporter for the *Alta* noted, “This manly and honorable proceeding was hailed with three rousing cheers by the Caucasian guests, military and civilian, who crowded around Strowbridge [*sic*] to congratulate and assure him of their sympathy.”⁵⁴

The dignitaries having quit the scene, a small crew quickly removed the laurel tie and replaced it with a common tie and iron spikes. The crowd rushed forward for souvenirs. Men slashed at the tie with knives, slicing off mementos. One knife blade broke out of its handle and flew across the tie, striking George Yates on the main artery of his wrist. The cut bled profusely, and Yates passed out. A physician was found to dress the wound, and Yates recovered.⁵⁵

⁵² *New York Times*, May 12, 1869.

⁵³ “First Train West,” 27; *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869; Heath, “Eye Witness Tells of ‘Last Spike’ Driving,” 6; Stillman, “The Last Tie,” 83.

⁵⁴ *The Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1869; *The Chicago Tribune*, May 12, 1869; “First Train West,” 27; Stillman, “The Last Tie,” 83.

⁵⁵ *The Utah Daily Reporter*, May 12, 1869.

Perhaps fifteen or twenty minutes had passed since the driving of the spikes when, under the direction of the photographers, the special trains moved together so that the locomotive pilots touched. Engineer George Booth climbed out on the running board of the Jupiter and made his way to the front of the engine. Engineer Sam Bradford of Engine 119 did likewise. While the luminaries enjoyed champagne inside the private cars, workers swarmed over and around the locomotives as Andrew J. Russell posed his most famous image. Bradford and Booth stood on the engine pilots with arms outstretched, wine bottles in hand. The two chief engineers, Samuel Montague and Grenville Dodge, stood in front shaking hands. Both Savage and Russell captured variants of this scene. When the photographers were done, one of the bottles was broken and a "libation" was poured on the last rail. The engineers then backed their trains to their previous locations.⁵⁶

Merriment continued. Telegrams from around the country were read to the dignitaries in Durant's car. Some were facetious and others whimsical. The two Casement brothers vied with each other in fun making. Souvenir hunters continued to whittle away chunks of the last common tie, and it had to be replaced several times before the day was done. Around 1:30 p.m., the officials emerged from the palace car for another round of photographs. Three of the infantry companies were posed at parade rest between the engines while dignitaries stood in front of Engine 119. The three photographers recorded this scene from different angles, most notably from the cab roofs of the two locomotives.⁵⁷

After this photographic interlude, the invited guests traded railroad cars. The dignitaries moved to the Stanford car, and the journalists and military men moved to Durant's car. Sumptuous dinners were served to both groups. Perhaps to facilitate train movements, the specials moved a bit westward into Central Pacific territory. Here Alfred Hart photographed the military bandmen on and about the "Jupiter" and "119." Toasts and speeches were offered in the Stanford car where good spirits prevailed until Stanford spoke. In his unpublished autobiography, General Dodge remembered that

Governor Stanford attacked the federal government, claiming the government's subsidy was a detriment rather than a benefit. Stanford's negative statement was not favorably received by others in attendance. Dan Casement got on his brother's shoulders and chided the governor. "Mr President of the Central Pacific: If the subsidy of the Central Pacific has been such a detriment to the building of these roads, I move you sir that it be returned to the United States Government with our compliments." Casement's rebuke "brought a great cheer...[and]put a very wet blanket over the rest of the time."⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *The Utah Daily Reporter*, May 12, 1869; *The Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1869; "Time of Engineers and Firemen, May 15, 1869," Casement Papers in the Union Pacific Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society; Michael W. Johnson, "Historic Photograph Study of the Golden Spike Ceremony" (unpublished report for Golden Spike National Historic Site), 4.

⁵⁷ *The Deseret News*, May 12, 1869; *The Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1869; Heath, "Eye Witness Tells of 'Last Spike' Driving," 6; Johnson, "Historic Photograph Study," 4.

⁵⁸ "Personal Biography of Major General Grenville Mellen Dodge, 1831 to 1870," vol. 4 (Grenville M. Dodge Papers, Iowa State Archives), 953-954; Stillman, "The Last Tie," 84; "First Train West," 27.

As the party wound down, a Union Pacific engine brought a special delivery for the Central Pacific. Six beautiful new first class passenger cars, built in Springfield, Massachusetts, were hauled to the summit area. Two were attached to Stanford's train and would be the first cars to make the entire journey across America. Around five o'clock, the railway officials bid their farewells, and the Jupiter's train headed toward the sunset. Casement's track gangs loaded onto work trains for the return to the construction camp at Blue Creek. They would soon be moving back along the line to work at Wahsatch. Union Pacific officials remained awhile longer but were heading east by six o'clock.

The evening of May 10, the officials of both companies rocked along the rails on their return journeys. For Durant, Dillon, and Duff, the celebration at Promontory had been a brief interlude. Union Pacific was almost out of money, and the headache of dealing with unpaid contractors continued. The Stanford group was likely in higher spirits. Their train averaged twenty-one miles per hour, including stops, on the way west. Aboard the new cars were the first through passengers on the Pacific Railroad. Lew H. Miller of Petaluma and William R. Cranna of San Francisco had left New York at 5:00 p.m. on May 4.⁵⁹

Returning with Stanford was the bulk of the ceremonial booty. In his charge were the silver spike maul, the laurel tie, the silver spike, and the Hewes golden spike. The silver spike, still in its rough original condition, was dropped off along the way so that it could be finished in Virginia City. There it was inscribed with the short speech that Tritle had made in its presentation and "To Leland Stanford President of the Central Pacific Railroad." This spike was eventually returned to Stanford's possession. Stanford kept the silver spike and maul but gave the golden spike back to its contributor, David Hewes. From the nugget that had been broken off the spike, Hewes had a number of mementos fashioned. Several small golden spike watch charms were made for various individuals, and a number of gold rings were fashioned. The rings featured a piece of rose quartz representing the Central Pacific and a moss agate for the Union Pacific. Among the recipients were U. S. President Grant, William Seward, Leland Stanford, and Union Pacific President Oliver Ames.⁶⁰

Years later, Leland Stanford gave the silver spike and maul to the university he founded in his son's memory. The golden spike rejoined these artifacts when Hewes donated his art collection to Stanford University in 1892. All three items remain there to this day. The laurel tie, stored at the Central Pacific's Sacramento shops for many years, was eventually transferred to Southern Pacific's San Francisco office building. There it burned in the fire that followed the terrible 1906 earthquake.

⁵⁹ *The Daily Morning Examiner*, 12 May 1869.

⁶⁰ "History of the Golden Spike," 56; Bowman, "Driving the Last Spike," 81; Heath, "Eye Witness Tells of 'Last Spike' Driving," 6.

The Arizona Spike's story remained a mystery for many years. In the 1970s, heirs of Sidney Dillon donated the spike to the City Museum of New York. It had been given to Dillon after the ceremony and had been passed down in his family. Only the fate of the second golden spike is still unknown. Evidence suggests it may have been given to General Dodge or Dr. Durant.⁶¹

In its own right, the ceremony at Promontory on May 10, 1869, was not very remarkable. Most would say it was poorly planned and executed. Only a few hundred people attended. As there was no stage or grandstand, few could hear or see what happened. The dignitaries' speeches utterly failed to capture the significance of the event, and the laying of the last rail was fumbled. Yet the ceremony was considered important in its own time, and it continues to have a powerful hold on the American mind.

In its time, the building of the Pacific Railroad was thought to be the grandest industrial accomplishment of the age. Public expectation demanded that its completion be honored and celebrated. That the dignitaries at Promontory were not up to the task mattered little. Private citizens had contributed golden and silver spikes as a tribute, and the clumsy officials and mediocre speeches could not detract from the glory of the accomplishment. What mattered was that the efforts of the builders had been recognized and the railroad completed.

The ceremony succeeded in spite of itself because the completion of the railroad touched Americans deeply. The Golden Spike Ceremony was, first of all, a celebration of what had been accomplished. Nowhere on earth had such a railroad been built. The technical obstacles in crossing the high mountains and vast deserts were enormous. The logistical problems of building a railroad in a wilderness were staggering, and the tasks of funding and administration were nightmarish. That the line was finished years ahead of schedule added to the triumph. In a time when the United States sometimes felt itself inferior to European nations, the completion of the Pacific Railroad signaled the world that the Americans were a great and capable people.

It was also a celebration of national union. Only a few years before, the building of the railroad had begun in the midst of the Civil War. Untold treasure and some 600,000 lives had been spent to reunify the country. The Pacific Railroad was an accomplishment of the entire nation. Reporters at the ceremony remarked how all classes of people and all regions of the country were represented in the great work. The rails were an undeniable expression of the national union recently purchased with so much blood. No longer were the ties between the two coasts distant and tenuous. The states and territories had become in fact a contiguous continental republic. In a sermon at New York's Old Trinity Church, the Reverend Dr. Francis Vinton commented that the greatest blessing to come from the railroad was that: "It will preserve the Union of these States . . . following the rule that

⁶¹ *The Daily Bee*, May 13, 1869; Stillman, "The Last Tie," 83.



pertains in the Old World, there might be a diffusion of interests and separation of governments in that section of country divided from us by the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains. But this railway counteracts such natural tendency to disunion, and binds the States of the Atlantic and Pacific into one nation.”⁶²

***Governor Calvin L. Rampton
delivers a speech at the Centennial
Celebration of the driving of
the Golden Spike, May 10, 1969,
Promontory Summit.***

Finally, it was a celebration of the future. It was thought that the Pacific Railroad would become the highway of nations, stimulating commerce and advancing civilization. Walt Whitman, in his poem *Passage to India*, saw it as part of a divine plan, bringing the world closer together and eventually ushering in a utopian age:

Lo, soul! seest thou not God's purpose from the first?
The earth to be spann'd, connected by net-work,
The people to become brothers and sisters, . . .⁶³

The railroaders saw a more pragmatic future. In his speech at the ceremony, General Dodge saw the railway as the trade route to Asia sought by Columbus so long ago. Sidney Dillon reminisced, “The five or six hundred men who saw the connection made at Promontory were strongly impressed with the conviction that the event was of historic importance; but as I remember it now, we connected it rather with the notion of transcontinental communication and trade with China and Japan than with internal development.”⁶⁴

⁶² *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869.

⁶³ Walt Whitman, “Passage to India,” *Leaves of Grass*, 1900, www.bartleby.com/142/183.html. (Accessed May 6, 2003).

⁶⁴ Dillon, “Historic Moments,” 254.

The predicted trade with Asia did not materialize. The railroad's real future lay in its ability to stimulate development of the country it spanned. While the builders could not foresee this, there were those with more vision who did. Reverend Dr. Vinton, in his New York sermon, compared the trains to the caravans of old, noting that where the caravans stopped, cities grew. He predicted that the railroad would populate the country's vast open spaces.⁶⁵

On May 11, the nation went back to work, and in just a few months the luster faded from the triumph of the Pacific Railway. The wretched waste and windfall profits associated with the Credit Mobilier scandal tainted public opinion. Stanford and his Central Pacific partners were eventually among the most hated of the Gilded Age robber barons. The Pacific Railway became known more as a grand swindle than a grand accomplishment.

It took decades for the tarnish to wear off. The West developed, and people came to appreciate the importance of that first set of tracks across the continent. Old railroad pioneers like Grenville Dodge and Sidney Dillon were asked to share their reminiscences in print and in public. By the fiftieth anniversary in 1919, the public was again ready to celebrate the completion of the transcontinental railroad. In that year, Edwin Sabin published his excellent history *Building the Pacific Railway*, and Ogden, Utah, staged a grand parade and commemoration on May 10. With the 1924 release of John Ford's eleven-reel silent film *The Iron Horse*, the story of the first transcontinental railroad had resurfaced as an American epic.

Since then, the ceremony has been recreated numerous times in books, articles, and cinema. Congress made the location of the event a national historic site in July 1965, and its centennial re-enactment four years later garnered national attention. It continues as a common subject for authors and filmmakers. Symbolic of greed, nobility, diversity, technical prowess, determination, and hard work, the Golden Spike Ceremony was a quintessentially American event.

⁶⁵ *The New York Times*, May 11, 1869.

“Amusements and Recreations . . . Makes Our Working Hours Profitable”: Utah 4-H, 1940–1960

By HOLLY BUCK

Precocious Wanda Campbell, in an essay detailing the virtues of a government-sponsored children’s club known as 4-H, made the deceptively simple statement that “amusements and recreations . . . makes our working hours profitable.”¹ Behind Campbell’s assertion existed a host of meanings. This program, begun in the early 1900s by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) and intended to be a vocational training ground for rural children, focused on farming and housekeeping techniques. Yet, even though baking bread and raising hogs resembled toil more than play, hundreds of Utah children lauded 4-H as their great source of “fun.”² That these adolescents used the tools of work as playthings and the stuff of work as recreation betrayed much about the parameters of their world. Many Utah 4-Hers came from geographically isolated and economically distressed communities that relied on hard labor for survival and looked for creative measures to satisfy social needs. Likewise, children throughout Utah saw 4-H as a resource to enrich their lives; but that enrichment did not remain bound to a rural lifestyle. Just as 4-H “clothing girls” chose to make tailored wool suits over calico country dresses, so Utah youth eagerly grasped every urban excitement offered them through 4-H.

The closing years of the nineteenth century

Catherine Chantry, Wellington, county style dress revue winner, Carbon County, 1948.



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Holly Buck grew up in southern Idaho and received an M.A. in history from Utah State University. This article was adapted from her master’s thesis, “Winning Life’s Blue Ribbons: Gender, Recreation, and Utah Children, 1940-1960.”

¹ Wanda Campbell, “4-H Clubs And Community Living,” *Utah Farmer*, April 10, 1942.

² Dorothy Kirk Hansen, “A Study of the Re-enrollment of Girls Who Enrolled in the 4-H Club Program in Davis County in 1963,” (M.S. thesis, University of Utah, 1969), 61-64.

and the opening years of the twentieth century represented a period of profound change for America. During the Progressive Era of American history, thousands of individuals began to take note of the cultural upheaval that surrounded them, caused especially by industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. Though the main focus of their efforts concerned the problems of the booming cities, many progressives became alarmed with a concomitant dilemma: the decline of the American countryside. The most obvious sign of this perceived decay came with a wide demographic shift toward towns. This movement grew during the economic heyday of the late nineteenth century and culminated in the first decades of the twentieth century.³

Even as rapidly expanding cities promised education, excitement, and economic security, opportunities for success through agriculture appeared to dwindle. In 1890 the government declared the official closing of the frontier. This pronouncement was accompanied by a recognition on the part of many agrarians that lands easily cultivated had reached their limit. To compound these difficulties, the infrastructure of the countryside—with its poor roads and medical facilities, inadequate schools, and unorganized churches—seemed to be crumbling.⁴ Many farm families could not enjoy manufactured goods, running water, and electricity because of their geographic and financial situations. With fluctuating markets, exploitative transportation costs, tariffs and taxes, much of the agricultural world struggled under a heavy burden of near poverty and debt.

Accordingly, many Americans began to take an active interest in the problems of farmers. In the context of America's deeply-rooted agrarian sentiment and the heady atmosphere of the Progressive Era, the plight of rural people became a celebrated cause. President Theodore Roosevelt reflected this popular concern in 1908 when he called for the organization of the Country Life Commission to consider rural problems and offer solutions. As with many of the changes made during the Progressive Era, these government solutions had their base in grassroots efforts. Both the commission and several independent reformers concerned themselves greatly with the state of rural education.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, those reformers spontaneously developed programs to instruct the children of local farmers in modern methods of scientific farming. Liberty Hyde Bailey of Cornell University grew alarmed at the number of young men who eschewed a future in agriculture. In response, Bailey created a hands-on curriculum, reminiscent of John Dewey's philosophies, that helped boys realize the joys of working with the land even as it inculcated them in progressive farming.

From Ohio and Illinois, educators Albert B. Graham, O. J. Kern, and

³ William L. Bowers, *The Country Life Movement in America, 1900-1920* (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1974), 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 13-14.



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William Otwell gathered young men into similar groups wherein they used the new techniques and received cash prizes for their efforts.⁵ Jessie Field Shambaugh presented similar principles to the students of her struggling Iowa school and provided a symbol for the club with a three-leaved clover, which signified one's head, heart, and hands.⁶ Shambaugh and others soon developed programs for young women, but it was not until 1910 that girls' canning, sewing, or baking clubs became associated with the United States Department of Agriculture. By that same year, the fundamentals of the "learning-by-doing" clubs were established and 4-H had received federal sponsorship through state colleges and the USDA.

4-H Club outing of 4-Hers from Carbon and Emery counties, 1941.

Sponsorship of 4-H programs only increased as the twentieth century progressed. In 1914 the United States Congress passed the Smith-Lever Act. This agricultural support law made more solid and effective the relationship between the land-grant agricultural colleges (created by the Morrill Act of 1862) and county extension agents. Though the Smith-Lever Act did not specifically mention children's programs, its backing of the Cooperative Extension Service provided a permanent home for the 4-H movement. As 4-H became more established, it received increased private sector aid through the philanthropy of several businesspeople and their corporations.⁷ This sponsorship was especially associated with the National Committee on Boys' and Girls' Club Work (later renamed "The National Committee") agribusiness entities such as the Armour and Wilson Packing Companies, and the annual trips to Chicago given to award-winning 4-Hers. Support provided to 4-H from the dominant forces of the new agricultural world was pointed towards creating an ideal agricultural

⁵ Thomas Wessel and Marilyn Wessel, *4-H: An American Idea, 1900-1980: A History of 4-H* (Chevy Chase, Maryland: National 4-H Council, 1982), 2-6. Bowers, *Country Life Movement*, 51.

⁶ Janice Nahra Friedel, "Jessie Field Shambaugh: The Mother of 4-H," *Palimpsest* 62 (1981): 99.

⁷ Wessell, *4-H: An American Idea*, 22-35.

citizen who could and would perpetuate a modernized rural lifestyle.

In 1941 *Utah Farmer* published a lengthy article by political scientist Arthur Gaeth that supported this utilitarian focus. In "Making Utah Youth More Useful," Gaeth answered the nagging question of how Utah could take care of its own population. How had generations of European peasants supported themselves through the winter months? Through the production and sale of handiwork they had taught themselves and their children to make leisure-time useful. So it must be in Utah. Farmers had to develop additional sources of income, and for Gaeth the vocational training of youth—as mechanics, mineralogists, and domestic servants—represented the most plausible answer.⁸

On paper, 4-H squared with this viewpoint. Instead of depriving farmers of their children's immediate labor with no recompense to the family income, as programs such as Boy Scouts of America and YMCA reportedly did, 4-H clubs turned children's socialization into an educational exercise and an addition to the family income. From its inception, 4-H instructed boys and girls not how to amuse themselves, but rather how to implement the latest methods of progressive management so that they might become productive adults.⁹

But how did children feel about 4-H? Boys and girls in Utah 4-H turned USDA motives upside-down. For them, leisure-time did not need to be more useful; rather, working hours must become more profitable by becoming "amusements and recreations." Though it might look like work to adults and outsiders, 4-H was play, not apprenticeship. During the 1940s and 1950s, *Utah Farmer* published personal success stories written by 4-Hers. These youths voiced the reality that constant toil and economic hardship circumscribed their lives and that they used 4-H to transform those necessary drudgeries into cherished hobbies.

Historian Bernard Mergen framed an essay about the change in American children's culture caused by the industrial manufacture of toys with two contrasting quotes. The first came from a nineteenth-century Connecticut man, who looked back on the joy found in his boyhood as he learned how to manipulate his favorite of toys—a penknife he used to whittle. The second, from a child of the 1940s, claimed that the author's "prized possession was a white leather two-gun holster, studded with fake stones."¹⁰ The 4-Hers who wrote for *Utah Farmer* lived at the same time as the owner of that flashy holster, yet their playthings hardly resembled his. While young people throughout post-war America turned to television and myriad commercial toys for amusement, many Utahns, like the whittling Connecticut Yankee, used the tools and techniques of adult labor to create pastimes for themselves.

⁸ Arthur Gaeth, "Making Utah Youth More Useful," *Utah Farmer*, April 25, 1941.

⁹ Wessel, *4-H: An American Idea*, 2-7.

¹⁰ Elliott West and Paula Petrik, eds. *Small Worlds: Children and Adolescents in America, 1850-1950* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1992), 86.

Because of the methods employed by their families and communities to sustain life, the recreation of many 4-Hers had practical ends and fit into a pattern of critical family-based labor. The experiences of three young women demonstrated this utilitarian element. At thirteen years old, Julene Bunker of Millard County shouldered a great deal of responsibility during her mother's illness. This included washing and ironing the family's clothing and the preparation of numerous meals, in addition to school attendance. Bunker's habits of work only increased throughout her teenage years, when she "had the chance" to sew eighty and repair one hundred articles of clothing, prepare nearly five hundred meals, and preserve three hundred quarts of produce.¹¹



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Katharine Naranjo (l) and Martha Ann Yelenich, Carbon County winning demonstration team, Spring Canyon, 1948.

Milford's Lenora Bowen presented similar statistics of her "inside" work. Beginning in the eighth grade, she did all of her own darning, ironing, and sewing, which included the annual remodeling of old clothing into a new wardrobe. Each year Bowen and her mother preserved approximately six hundred quarts of fruits and vegetables. After Bowen enrolled in 4-H, she often canned on her own, especially when she kept house for her grandfather. Finally, Bowen ran her parents' household from time-to-time, during which she cleaned, ironed, and cooked, "sometimes for as many as eight men."¹²

Joan Patten, as eldest daughter, assumed full management of her family's Utah County home after her mother's death. As a 4-Her for four years before her mother's passing, Patten gained competency in the tasks that became her daily duties. In her five years of club work, Patten made and repaired nearly two hundred articles of clothing, "prepared 1903 meals, 140 separate dishes, 100 lunches, baked 200 items, froze 200 pounds of food and canned 1598 quarts of fruit."¹³ After her mother's death and in addition to

¹¹ Julene Bunker, "4-H Trains for Effective Living," *Utah Farmer*, April 13, 1952.

¹² Lenora Alice Bowen, "My 4-H Club Experiences and My 4-H Project Achievements," *Utah Farmer*, November 10, 1943.

¹³ "Two Utah Girls Win National Honors," *Utah Farmer*, December 15, 1948.



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From left to right, Alvin Thayn, Wellington; Peter Ardohain, Lower Gordon Creek; Theo Golding, Wellington; Ross Golding, Wellington. 4-H Club boys and their calves sponsored by Price Kiwanis Club, Carbon County, 1940.

driving the tractor, chopping wood, tending stock, attending high school, and gardening (for 1185 hours), Patten did all of the cooking, mending, shopping, washing and ironing for a family of six. Her unpaid labor sustained the family.

Though these girls did not limit themselves to domestic endeavors—Bowen fondly described the pleasure she received from livestock and agriculture—their inside work played a major role in family subsistence. Those dazzling numbers of quarts canned by 4-H girls represented part of a crucial survival strategy used by farm women throughout America to support their families. For instance, a pattern of self-sufficiency through utilizing home-grown and preserved food prevailed at several income levels of Wisconsin agricultural families during the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁴ So it was with many young women of rural Utah in the 1940s and 1950s who canned and gardened for their families and for themselves.

Mary Mae Winters, who equated her life with her 4-H involvement—“To tell you something of my experiences and achievements in 4-H Club work is little less than to tell you my life story,”—described with glee a five season canning career that culminated in her preservation of 541 quarts and 28 glass jars of fruits, vegetables, meats, and garnishes in 1942. These products mattered to the Winters who lived thirty-five miles from a city and depended on the canned goods for eight months of the year. According to Winters, her projects saved the family more than one hundred dollars per annum. But Winters’ work also mattered to herself. She forbade that her first pint of canned fruit be placed alongside others at home, because to Winters “it was something very special.” When another girl defeated her at the county canning exhibition one year, Winters redoubled her efforts, which resulted in blue ribbons at county and state exhibits the following year. Winters reflected that when a judge named her the state canning

¹⁴ Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 32.

champion, it was "Without exception . . . the happiest moment of my life!"¹⁵

Mary Mae and others recognized the necessity of mundane toil in their rural lives and often used 4-H to make that work an avenue to personal and social fulfillment. Joan Patten, for instance, somehow found time between home management, farm work, and school to attend fifty-two of sixty-one 4-H club meetings. Further, Patten received significant public recognition for her efforts through awards, newspaper articles, and especially, the chance to ride as queen on a 4-H float. Patten told an instructive story. Those who enrolled in and stayed with 4-H did so because it gave entertainment and the thrill of achievement. 4-H represented a way for children from isolated and often marginal areas to attain success, mix with their communities, and go beyond local circumstances.

Complete with small towns, small incomes, and a tangible need for inexpensive leisure, eastern Utah's Carbon County was an area with high potential for the 4-H programs. Carbon County formed a cultural island in Utah. Mormon farmers settled the first communities in the county, but by the early twentieth century, coal mining dominated Carbon's economic landscape. With "King Coal" came mining camps, company towns, and demographic diversity.

The people in Carbon County's towns and mining camps developed an active community life largely based in low-cost and voluntary associations. Ida Jewkes described the coal camp of Kenilworth as a friendly place that offered "the most beautiful way to live." At the heart of the community was an amusement hall that housed a confectionary and a barber shop, as well as religious services, picture shows, and union meetings. How did organizations fit into this "most beautiful" of lifestyles?¹⁶

Fraternal orders, women's auxiliaries, ethnic associations, and interest-centered clubs such as the Castle Gate Brass Band, Stella d'America, Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, and the Rusty Dozen Club flourished in Carbon County. Gender played an important role in these groups. Men joined lodges and unions, but the most vital male organizations proved to be the wildly popular local baseball teams.¹⁷ In contrast, many people connected clubs to women. When Jewkes described club life in the mining camps, she explained their importance to women for socializing: "There were several different clubs, hard clubs, sewing clubs, all kinds of things for the women to do."¹⁸

In the 1940s and 1950s, accounts of bridge parties, sewing circles, and

¹⁵ Mary Mae Winters, "4-H Canning Champion Tells How Efforts Begets Reward," *Utah Farmer*, February 10, 1942.

¹⁶ Ida and Thelma Jewkes, interview, February 21, 1979, MSS A 2965, 4, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah (USHS).

¹⁷ Ronald G. Watt, *A History of Carbon County* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society and Carbon County Commission, 1997), 347-57, 331-38.

¹⁸ Jewkes interview, 5.

auxiliary meetings dominated the society pages of local newspapers; indeed, male names hardly appeared in those columns except to indicate a woman's marital status. In Carbon County at mid-century, men recreated through nationally organized associations and athletics, while women created a network of less formal, but equally lively, gender-based clubs.

Children also needed something to do and youth organizations—Little League baseball, Mormon primary, Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and 4-H—served to fill the social and educational niches in their lives.¹⁹ 4-H began in Carbon communities in 1927, petered out during the Great Depression, and revived again in 1937. A decade later and with some three hundred children enrolled, 4-H represented “one of the leading activities” for Carbon youth.²⁰ By 1958, 4-H boasted 640 members in the county and had long claimed broad community support. The story of Carbon County 4-H during those twenty years highlights how public agencies and private interests, adults and children, responded to youth work. Public support of 4-Hers abounded in Carbon County. Led by county agricultural agent Robert Hassell, radio stations, newspapers, government offices, labor unions, service clubs, schools, churches, merchants, and other public entities combined in sponsorship of 4-H as a wholesome, constructive program to improve Carbon's young people. The *Sun-Advocate*, the county's major newspaper, gave 4-H significant attention. Local businesses and bankers provided 4-Hers with scholarships, travel money, and awards. Shops allowed 4-H displays to be placed in their windows during “Achievement Week,” and Catholic, Mormon, and Methodist churches permitted 4-H exercises to take place within their halls.²¹ When the boys and girls of the Pick ‘n Scratch Poultry Club entered the “Chicken of Tomorrow” contest, the Carbon Locker Market proudly sold the meat and asked customers to “give our 4-H boys a boost and have a chicken fry.”²² Financial support did not come only from bankers and merchants: in 1952, seven mining union locals financed a banquet for 4-H leaders.

Why did 4-H receive such broad-based backing? Perhaps businesses and organizations appreciated the badge of goodness that aid to children afforded them. Perhaps these sponsors simply enjoyed helping boys and girls. Certainly, some of Carbon's adults echoed a recurrent theme of youth clubs that 4-H kept children occupied and out of trouble. In 1948 the *Sun-Advocate* printed a several-page spread dedicated to 4-H which prominently displayed a paragraph that claimed 4-H was a “great stride in the direction of good citizenship and useful living.”²³ America's troubles with deviant

¹⁹ Watt, *Carbon County*, 193.

²⁰ Theta Johnson and Edna N. Peacock, “History of 4-H Clubs in Carbon County,” in *Centennial Echoes from Carbon County*, ed. Thursa Jessen Reynolds (Salt Lake City: Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 1948), 117-21.

²¹ Utah Cooperative Extension Service Papers (UCES), 19.1/1:47, boxes 13 and 14, Merrill Library Special Collections and Archives, Utah State University, Logan, Utah (hereafter cited as USUA).

²² *Sun-Advocate*, June 19, 1952.

²³ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1948.

teenagers could not threaten youngsters who devoted their energies and spare time to 4-H style pursuits. Similarly, a 1954 editorial claimed that 4-H curbed juvenile delinquency: "We have our problems in Price—but not with 4-H children."²⁴

Though businesses and institutions gladly sponsored young people, county employees often experienced difficulty in getting adults to take actual responsibility for 4-H clubs. When 4-H enrollment dropped, inadequate leadership was often the limiting factor.²⁵ In 1941 the home demonstration agent reported a significant problem with "...more requests for girls' clubs in Price and Wellington than leaders willing."²⁶ Similarly, in 1950, Hassell recorded that 4-H drives had successfully excited the interest of numerous boys (male membership doubled that year) and many others wanted to join, "but additional leaders could not be found."²⁷ A lack of consistently dedicated adults especially hampered the progress of boys' clubs, and Hassell or older 4-H boys often stepped in to guide these floundering organizations. Obtaining the help of individual adults—not banks, markets, or unions—with the weekly maintenance of 4-H clubs represented a challenging task.

In contrast, the Carbon County extension service had little difficulty recruiting children because for these boys and girls from failing mining camps, provincial towns, and alkaline farms, 4-H offered an opportunity for low-cost fun. Their 4-H associations generally met once a week and consisted of five to ten children, plus one or two leaders. Each child optimally held a position in his or her club—sometimes a rather inventive one, like that of Joseph Bonacci, organist in a gardening group—and each club chose its own name. T. S. S. (of secret meaning), Classy Cookies Clothing, Jolly Half Dozen, Jolly Stitchers, Stylish Stitchers, Stitch and Rip, Snappy Scissors, Little Forest Men, Happy Sewing Bees, Four Busy Bees, Busy Beavers, and the Panhandlers: these names, often reflective of current gender norms, also reflected the enthusiasm and imagination of the children.

Carbon County children used 4-H not only as a way to create networks



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*4-H members' light Herefords,
Emery County livestock show,
1943.*

²⁴ UCES 19.17/13, box 2, 1954 folder, 51, USUA.

²⁵ UCES 19.1/1:47, box 14, 1956 folder, 5, USUA.

²⁶ UCES 19.1/1:47, box 13, 1941 folder, 13, 23, USUA.

²⁷ UCES 19.1/1:47, box 1 1950 folder, 17, USUA.

within individual clubs, but also as a stepping-stool into the larger society. In increasing numbers, 4-H members flocked to the annual picnics and camps sponsored by the county. A 1950 picnic held at Price City Park, for instance, entertained 538 4-Hers with games, soft drinks, and square dancing. Four years later, 787 boys, girls, leaders, and parents attended the picnic.²⁸ Such events became opportunities for community building, and 4-H put children in the center of the activity. Yet involvement in the Carbon community often meant transcending what that area offered them. In the post-war United States, ever-increasing technological advances changed the nature of recreation. Instead of spending their leisure time outdoors, more and more children chose to amuse themselves indoors by watching television.²⁹ Carbon 4-Hers, small-town seamstresses and cultivators whose pastimes were essentially work, wanted in on that urban-style fun.

In the winter of 1952, boys and girls from Spring Glen and Carbonville saw the realization of a goal for which they had worked long and hard since the previous summer—the purchase of a movie projector. The campaign began with garden club boys growing vegetables and boys and girls preserving that produce to use at banquets. By hosting dinners and bake sales, the children earned the money they needed for their coveted projector. Finally, after sufficient funds had been raised, the 4-Hers watched the film “Million Dollar Week End” free of charge.³⁰ The children who bought their own million dollar weekend came from two unincorporated, far from prosperous, agricultural communities: theirs was a concerted effort to go beyond the economic and geographic boundaries of their lives by creating their own entertainment.

Children’s manufacture of diversion through voluntary associations fit neatly with well-established social patterns in Carbon County. In the mining camps and farming villages of the region, organizations figured large in local news. Reports of Boy Scout encampments, lodge conventions, ball games, or club dinners occupied a prominent space in newspapers such as the Price *Sun-Advocate* and *Dragerton Tribune*. 4-H held its own in these columns. In June 1952, reports of a 4-H picnic and the Tack-L-Tylers, Sewing Eight, Panhandlers, Jolly Stitchers, Stitch and Rip, and Merry Mixers clubs highlighted the Spring Glen news column that also included accounts of wedding receptions, fishing trips, church services, house guests, and vacations.³¹

Organizations became especially important in the areas outside of Price and Helper, the main commercial centers. The *Dragerton Tribune*, which served the mining-centered region of East Carbon, attested to this. The opening of Little League in East Carbon headlined a typical front page of

²⁸ UCES 19.1/1:47, box 14, 1950 and 1954 folders, USUA.

²⁹ Elliott West, *Growing Up in Twentieth-Century America: A History and Reference Guide* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 192-94.

³⁰ *Sun-Advocate*, January 31, 1952.

³¹ “4-H Clubs Highlight Spring Glen News,” *Sun-Advocate*, June 26, 1952.

Winners of annual 4-H competition show off their prizes, April 1953.

the 1950s and was joined by news of Beta Sigma Phi's founders' day banquet, the tight competition between the Geneva Steel and Airport Service bowling leagues, morning services at the Episcopal church, Rotary Club clean-up week, and the 4-H Needle and Thread club's meeting.³²

The *Tribune's* reports of 4-H clubs like the Needle and Thread, the Thimblettes, Buttons and Bows, Sunnyside Stitchers, and Little Mothers bore significant resemblance to descriptions of adult women's activities. Moreover,

girls' clubs became increasingly prolific in the isolated East Carbon settlements of Dragerton, Columbia, and Sunnyside during the 1950s. In 1957 those communities respectively saw thirty-three, six, and sixteen girls involved in 4-H; by 1958, the numbers had changed to sixty-eight, seven, and thirty.³³ These girls socialized like their mothers did and the networks of female companionship only grew in importance over time.

In contrast, only four Dragerton and twelve Sunnyside boys joined 4-H in 1957; the following year, one that saw so much expansion for girls' clubs, eleven and six boys enrolled. What did boys do for fun while young women cooked, sewed, and built friendships? Consider the opening of Little League in East Carbon. Throughout Carbon County, athletics represented the most recognized form of boys' organized social life. Though young men at mid-century joined 4-H and organizations like the Boy Scouts, baseball, basketball, and other sports clubs took the limelight.³⁴

The East Carbon towns that in 1957 could only muster sufficient leaders and seventeen boys for three 4-H clubs, boasted five Little League baseball



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³² *Dragerton Tribune*, May 10, 1955.

³³ UCES 19.1/1:47, box 14, 1958 folder, 17, USUA.

³⁴ The 1948 Carbon district BSA encampment attracted nine troops, a total attendance of 102 scouts and eight Scouters. Boys overwhelmingly formed the membership of these troops. "Carbon Boy Scouts Conclude Most Successful Encampment," *Sun-Advocate*, July 29, 1948. Sixty-five scouts and leaders attended a 1957 district "camporal." *Dragerton Tribune*, July 23, 1957.



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**4-H Club float, Boys and Girls
Parade, Emery County, July 24,
1941.**

teams and eight male managers in 1955.³⁵ Such teams excited adult involvement, as evidenced by a 1955 editorial that reminded emotional parents that “Little League [was] for the kids.”³⁶ The difference between heated editorials about baseball teams and the “crying need” for 4-H leadership must have rankled Robert Hassell, who complained that baseball took farm and town boys away from 4-H and that, while inadequate adult guidance limited boys’ clubs, “less competition from Western League baseball would also be helpful.”³⁷ The substantial participation of boys and men on these teams, compared with the host of girls’ clubs, matched the pattern of gender-segregated group socializing practiced by Carbon County’s adults. Girls joined the network of women’s clubs, and boys joined the men’s arena of athletic competition.³⁸

Children’s organized recreation mirrored the adult community in another way—economics. Mining camps represented the majority of Carbon County communities, and in these camps economic and geographic realities did not allow for ambitious crop or livestock projects. Throughout the 1950s, traditional farm-based projects struggled to attract children—especially boys—while less expensive or less vocational projects, such as fly-tying and junior leadership, flourished.³⁹ Perhaps this would have concerned the 4-H proponents who looked down on the Indian crafts and good times of the Boy Scouts, but 4-H agents and volunteers in Carbon County recognized that mining children required something and that something was not modern farming.

Hassell and the female-dominated leaders’ association explicitly campaigned to increase the number of 4-Hers in the camps. They reached this goal with difficulty because the fluctuating postwar coal market caused

³⁵ “May 14th Marks Opening of Little League in East Carbon,” *Dragerton Tribune*, May 10, 1955.

³⁶ “Little League is for the Kids,” *Sun-Advocate*, June 30, 1955.

³⁷ UCES 19.1/1:47, box 14, 1959 folder, 30, and 1956 folder, 5, USUA.

³⁸ This gender-defined pattern bears significant resemblance to social-life trends in Butte, Montana, another mining town; Mary Murphy, *Mining Cultures: Men, Women, and Leisure in Butte, 1914-41* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

³⁹ In 1955, for instance, 27 children enrolled in vegetable growing, 54 in fishing, and 23 in junior leadership clubs, compared to 10 in dairy, 10 in beef, and 2 in sheep clubs. UCES 19.1/1:47, box 14, 1955 folder, 25, USUA.

unemployment and transience, and therefore a lack of 4-H leaders.⁴⁰ In 1954 the association challenged itself to establish a certain number of clubs in nine mining camps. Here economy and idealism came head to head. In Scofield and Castle Gate no clubs functioned because the mines only operated "one or two days a week and people in these towns were trying to move to other sections of the county to obtain work."⁴¹ When 4-H did succeed in such communities, it was through a conscious promotion of non-farm projects. In 1948 Chester Swanson had stellar success leading boys in Kenilworth (a coal camp with a population of 700) in carpentry. In 1953, "fly-tying continued to interest the boys in the mining [regions]."⁴² Arid, alkaline, and married to a resource-extractive industry, Carbon County simply was not the golden land of family farms publicized by progressive reformers. This region had certain needs and its residents—on their own terms—used 4-H to fulfill them.

Like Carbon County 4-Hers, adolescents throughout Utah used 4-H not only to make rural work tolerable and to socialize locally, but also as a tool to enjoy acquaintances, achievements, and pleasures outside of their isolated home towns. For instance, in the 1940s and 1950s, county-wide or combined-county outings became tremendously popular with children.⁴³ At these events, 4-Hers built temporary communities even as they made crafts and learned campfire songs. Ever learning the principles of democracy, the children elected a government for the three-day encampment. To those elected, leadership represented not only a civics exercise, but, more notably, a badge of acceptance. Jo Ann Leonard of Price, a much-awarded girl, counted her election to camp mayor the "highest honor" and "greatest thrill" of her 4-H career. Leonard's peers "liked . . . her," a thing she would not forget "for a long time."⁴⁴ Adults praised 4-H campers for their cleanliness and manageability, but at encampments, children relished new friends, peer recognition, and vacation time.⁴⁵

The excitement that public achievement created for Jo Ann Leonard signaled one of the great motivations for 4-H involvement. In their *Utah Farmer*-published stories, numerous champions described the thrill of winning and connected that feeling to their dedication to 4-H. Janice Paulick wrote of the pleasure she experienced at receiving a blue ribbon, "I was just dazed! For three years I had . . . [wondered] what it would be like

⁴⁰ Floyd A. O'Neil, "Victims of Demand: The Vagaries of the Carbon County Coal Industry," in *Carbon County: Eastern Utah's Industrialized Island*, ed. Philip F. Notarianni (Price, Utah: Carbon County Historical Society, 1981), 22-39. Watt, *Carbon County*, 123.

⁴¹ UCES 19.1/1:47, box 14, 1954 folder, 4.

⁴² *Sun-Advocate*, July 29, 1948. UCES 19.1/1:47, box 14, 1953 folder, 17, USUA.

⁴³ Daniel A. John, "Utah 4-H, a Dynamic Youth Program," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 51 (Spring 1983): 181-82.

⁴⁴ Jo Ann Leonard, "Yes—Work Put into 4-H Pays Off," *Utah Farmer*, November 6, 1952.

⁴⁵ David Sharp, Jr., "Activities As an Extension Officer," interview by Charles S. Peterson, May 18, 1972, MSS 23, USUA.

to be [a winner]. Now I WAS one! Was it possible? I guess it must be TRUE!"⁴⁶ Other writers appreciated college scholarships, junior leadership, artistic release, and education. At a 1960 conference to explore why significant numbers of adolescents left 4-H around fourteen years of age, extension agents asked youth delegates why they had continued project work. The delegates gave a number of telling, and familiar responses: the friends from around Utah, leadership opportunities, major awards, summer activities, training, and goals realized through 4-H.⁴⁷ Though many 4-Hers dropped out after one or two seasons of work, those who remained faithful did so because commitment meant accomplishment. They had won "life's blue ribbons."⁴⁸

Blue ribbons were not everything, though. The majority of children who joined 4-H for a single season, or stayed with the program throughout their teenage years, did so for one controlling purpose—fun. The 1960 youth delegates provided a number of methods to encourage re-enrollment that prominently listed incentives such as mixed-gender projects, more social and recreational events, and "special activities just for older members."⁴⁹ Similarly, when Helen June Funk recounted her 1948 trip to Washington, D.C., she wrote most fondly about other teenagers she had met. After describing 4-H headquarters, group discussions, and speakers, Funk wistfully remarked about her new peers and wished "we had had a few more social dances or parties."⁵⁰ Even teenagers dedicated to their 4-H careers showed more interest in forming new friendships and attending parties than in becoming inculcated with the principles of modern living.

In 1963 Dorothy Kirk Hansen, a University of Utah graduate student, asked Davis County girls why they enrolled in 4-H. Did they join because mothers desired it, friends or siblings were in 4-H, to learn, to become good homemakers, or to have fun? One-hundred and eighty-eight girls, ages nine to fourteen, overwhelmingly responded that they enrolled to have fun. This motivation had influenced girls of all ages, from farm or non-farm homes, and those who joined for one year or four. Eighty-six percent of nineteen farm girls and 73 percent of non-farm girls marked this answer. Sixty-nine percent of first-year 4-Hers and 92 percent of third-year girls gave "fun" as their reason for participation. Though not to the exclusion of other reasons, entertainment formed the paramount attraction for 4-H membership.⁵¹

That entertainment often had a certain color to it—the rural reaching for the urban. Though 4-Hers used ovens, needles, and shovels in place of the non-practical playthings of their contemporaries, they still wanted

⁴⁶ Janice A. Paulick, "That Wasn't All—The Best Was Yet to Come!" *Utah Farmer*, November 20, 1952.

⁴⁷ UCES 19.17/13, box 2, 1960 folder, 8-9, USUA.

⁴⁸ Carolyn Bromley, "Winning Life's Blue Ribbons," *Utah Farmer*, October 16, 1952.

⁴⁹ UCES 19.17/13, box 2, 1960 folder, 8-9, USUA.

⁵⁰ Helen June Funk, "4-H'ers View of National Camp," *Utah Farmer*, August 15, 1948.

⁵¹ Hansen, "Re-enrollment of Girls," 61-64.



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urban diversions. Sponsored travel to state and national level competitions allowed 4-Hers a rare opportunity to feel cosmopolitan, and these excursions represented one of the major pulls of 4-H. Even the chance to sleep in a hotel attracted children. Numerous 4-H winners mentioned the specific name of Salt Lake City's Newhouse Hotel in their articles. At twelve years old, Janice Paulick of Tooele went to Salt Lake City and stayed in a hotel for the first time. This opportunity formed an exciting moment in Paulick's life as she and a friend "had to see everything [and] . . . rode up and down the elevator a dozen times."⁵²

County Extension Agent Elmer H. Gibson announces winners of various contests, 4-H Club camp, Sanpete County, 1943.

Marlene Baker of Minersville told a similar story. Her fourth year of 4-H work resulted in a trip packed with many firsts. "I had never been to Salt Lake City and I guess I really acted like it. We stayed at the Newhouse hotel . . . and I rode the elevators almost constantly." In ardent language, Baker claimed she would "remember it always." She evidently did recall the fun of that vacation, because two years later, when "financial malnutrition" threatened Baker's ability to attend state competitions, she and a friend tenaciously raised the needed money. The girls "launched upon the idea of giving a children's dance . . . in Minersville," popped corn, made candy, hired a pianist and "cleared about \$15 apiece, which we considered very good. . . ." Funds in hand, Baker had "another wonderful trip."⁵³

Baker signified the value of 4-H travel by entitling her article "4-H Made Me Aware of the World Around Me." Photographs of other adolescents on 4-H trips demonstrated that they too enjoyed becoming part of

⁵² Paulick, "That Wasn't All," *Utah Farmer*, 31. Likewise, Marva Gribble reported about the excitement created by staying with other young women at the Salt Lake City hotel, "what a time we did have!" Marva Gribble, "Farmerette Studies Beef-Raising Techniques," *Utah Farmer*, June 5, 1952.

⁵³ Marlene Baker, "4-H Made Me Aware of the World Around Me," *Utah Farmer*, December 4, 1952.



SALT LAKE TRIBUNE COLLECTION, UTAH STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

4-H conventions provided opportunities for teenagers and others to meet and socialize, March 1951.

the world around them. The Utah winners who attended a five-day 1964 national 4-H congress in Chicago stayed at the spacious and well-appointed Conrad Hilton Hotel with 1,500 other teenagers. During the daytime, youths from Providence and Riverton wore tailored clothing and sleek hairstyles as they met executives from prominent corporations, participated in news conferences, and demonstrated their prowess in fashion and farming to an appreciative audience. And in the evenings, they danced and danced with new friends their own age.⁵⁴ At state and national conventions successful 4-

Hers experienced things that their struggling little towns could not offer, and when 4-H gave them the chance to spend time in posh buildings, have contact with important public figures, appear on television, or simply ride an elevator, they eagerly seized the opportunity.

What would the reformers, professors, and corporate giants, who saw 4-H as an answer to economic woes and a school for future agriculturists, think of these stories and statistics? What could they think of them? Children turned adult goals upside down and appropriated 4-H for their own purposes, purposes that placed individual success and entertainment above modern farming or efficient housekeeping. 4-H began as a program to give country boys vocational training in progressive agriculture. Instead, women and girls came to dominate 4-H membership, non-farm children increasingly joined in the same numbers as farm children, projects became tailored to meet the needs of non-agricultural and urban members, and children transformed vocational training into a good time.

⁵⁴"4-H News: the 43rd National 4-H Club Congress," November 29 and December 3, 1964, courtesy of Glenn T. Baird, Logan, Utah.

BOOK REVIEWS

Hugh Nibley: A Consecrated Life By Boyd Jay Petersen (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2002, xxxii + 446 pp. \$32.95.)

BOYD PETERSEN'S PRIZE-WINNING BIOGRAPHY of his famous, though enigmatic father-in-law provides a wealth of welcome insight and information for LDS and non-LDS readers alike, who may be intrigued by this giant of the twentieth-century intellectual scene in Utah. Through fourteen years of investigation and collecting, Peterson has been able to amass a rich treasury of original sources and interviews from which to construct a revealing account that both clears away the abundant mythology about Nibley and greatly extends the public knowledge of the multiple facets of his life. The Mormon History Association awarded Peterson and his book the 2003 prize for best biography.

Though a self-proclaimed devotee of Nibley, Peterson has done an admirable job of establishing an objective and external perspective from which to relate his story. He protects well the comfort of both his readers and his sources in finding fair-minded and sympathetic ways to explain circumstances that are quite personal, while being of some legitimate public interest. It does not seem that anything worth investigating had been ignored or covered up.

Perhaps most importantly, Peterson's well documented account of Nibley's full life and education go a long way to help us understand this impish paragon of learning about the ancient world. While his family recognized and encouraged his genius at an early age, parents and grandparents behaved in ways that had strong positive and negative effects throughout Hugh's life. His grandfather's long years of service in the leading councils of the LDS church gave him an early realistic understanding of Church organization and leadership. As Peterson points out, "Hugh could not be disillusioned by the actions of Church leaders because he was never illusioned to begin with" (127).

With extensive detail, Peterson shows how Hugh Nibley grounded his profound faith in a wealth of spiritual experiences ranging from daily spiritual promptings to profound encounters with the divine and the spiritual world. Clearly formative was his life-after-life experience as a college student undergoing an appendectomy. It had come at a questioning time in his life, and "permanently reoriented" his life, giving him an unshakeable faith in the afterlife and in the Restoration of the Gospel through Joseph Smith (121).

Nibley rose to prominence as a scholar defending the faith during the middle years of the twentieth century when skepticism among LDS academics reached its highest point. Indeed, the virtual disappearance of sceptical enclaves among the most highly educated Latter-day Saints may be due in some significant way to Nibley's life-long, learned and articulate defense of the faith against its critics. His wonderfully researched and witty defenses of Joseph Smith, the Book of Mormon, and the Book of Abraham during the decades when these were most energetically attacked provided inspiration and gave courage to generations of

younger LDS scholars who have extended his work through more standard methodologies in a much broader range of disciplines.

While most observers will remember Nibley first for his role as a defender of the faith, Peterson wants to claim that his “most significant contribution has been to establish a Mormon theological foundation for environmental stewardship (80).” He invokes Nibley’s impressive personal quest for solitude in nature and his numerous speeches that stressed man’s responsibility to protect the earth to support that evaluation. But the prodigious accomplishments of Nibley documented in the rest of the book combined with the thoughtful assessments of other respected observers as cited throughout the book seem to vindicate the popular appreciation of Nibley first as a scholar and apologist for his faith.

We should thank Boyd Peterson for providing this richly informative view into the amazing life of a most unusual and impressive person. Nibley’s example will be used to inspire and instruct for decades to come, and Peterson’s book will make that a more credible and informed reflection.

NOEL B. REYNOLDS
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Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West

By David M. Wrobel (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002. xi + 322 pp. \$34.95.)

IN *PROMISED LANDS* Professor David M. Wrobel of the University of Nevada-Las Vegas, a “superb cultural historian” writes Richard Etulain, approaches in a new way the story of the peopling of the American West. This study becomes a significant partner with such recent books examining the peopling and imagining of the American West as Patricia Limerick’s *Legacy of Conquest*, Richard Etulain’s *Reimagining the Modern American West*, Walter Nugent’s *Into the West: The Story of Its People*, and Elliot West’s *The Contested Plains*. Wrobel’s previous books have dealt with western regionalism and identity, the West as place and culture, and tourism in the American West. After reading this book, I jotted down, as initial reactions, “original,” “fascinating,” “broad sweep,” and “Utah a misfit.”

Wrobel studies two groups, neglected by historians, that directly shaped public perceptions of the American West: *promoters* and *reminiscers*. One boosted the developing western regions as a Land of Opportunity, the others lamented a Paradise Lost, the one created by undaunted pioneers who tamed the frontier. Wrobel’s broad sweep examines specific regions west of the Mississippi River, from the Civil War through the 1920s.

Part One, “Promises,” deals with promoters (railroads, town councils, chambers of commerce, realtors, speculators, newspaper editors, and church societies), first with the pre-1890s period and then with early twentieth century efforts. Wrobel draws from promoters’ posters, pamphlets, newspaper articles, and other

printed materials about specific regions, states, and localities. To entice new settlers, investors, and visitors, the materials minimized how unsettled, untamed, and undeveloped the place was—frontier no more—and offered an exaggerated picture of how good schools, churches, hotels, climate, longevity, weather, and fertility were. In Part Two, “Memories,” Wrobel examines the propounding of a contradictory image by veterans from the frontier days who reminisced with pride in books and periodicals and by founding pioneer societies. “The message was clear: a previous generation had blazed the trail that led to the land of comfort and ease,” and later generations “ought not to forget the sacrifice of their forebears” (135). If promotional writers “expressed a strong preference for the regional present over the frontier stage,” the old pioneers “lauded the simpler, more rugged past” (126).

Both groups exaggerated—promoters exaggerated the present and reminiscers “selectively reconstructed equally imaginary places in their writings” (74). From both positions, the nation developed images of the West as a place, and locals gained a sense of place for themselves. Wrobel urges that “scholarly investigations of sense of place in the West ought to consider the full weight of the legacies of promotion and memory,” a case his book clearly makes (198). Part Three, “Legacies,” relates the recent West to the earlier boosterisms and reminiscings, both of which “presented wonderlands of whiteness to the public” (173), until later promoters presented the whiteness “tinged with the romantic backdrop of cultural color” (175).

Promised Lands is quality history. It exhibits exhaustive research, provides fascinating photographs of promotional items, and includes an invaluable bibliography, particularly of promotional journals, broadsides, maps, and publications, and of pioneer society proceedings. The book’s design, layout, and typeface “feel good,” a credit to the publisher.

Wrobel’s fine study could benefit by providing readers with better contexts regarding the history of U.S. land laws and land ownership patterns in the individual states and territories, railroad development by decades, and the rise of chambers of commerce.

Like a donut, Wrobel’s coverage has a hole in it—Utah. He cites only a Corinne promotional piece (1875), and a regional promotion by the Union Pacific (1880), and, regarding reminiscers, one footnote has a small quote by James Monroe Redd, from a Utah Works Progress Questionnaire (251, n47). Obviously, Utah was a big exception to the trends Wrobel discusses. Utah indeed was promoted vigorously, but by the LDS church to “gather” its converts. By the 1880s, Utah had few good settlement lands left to promote, and by the 1890s the LDS church told converts not to move to Utah. During Wrobel’s coverage period, Utah was unattractive to non-Mormons because of plural marriage and resultant anti-Mormon press and government action. Also, Utah’s pioneer societies lagged two generations behind the trends Wrobel finds (the DUP incorporated in 1925, the SUP in 1933). Utah’s exceptionalism, however, should have received a page or

two in this book. Wrobel says his book is “an exploration,” not a “comprehensive history of promotion or of reminiscences,” and invites scholars to “to fill in the multitudinous gaps” (16). Utah’s exceptionalism to his findings merits study.

WILLIAM G. HARTLEY
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The Lewis and Clark Journals: An American Epic of Discovery Edited and with an introduction by Gary E. Moulton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. lviii + 413 pp. \$29.95.)

THIS IS A BOOK for which many people have been waiting. Thomas Jefferson’s Corps of Discovery has achieved mythic status, and the writings of its participants, especially its two captains, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, have become classics. Interest in the expedition seems to have no bounds, especially with the bicentennial upon us. Gary E. Moulton has already given us a monumental thirteen-volume *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (University of Nebraska, 1983-2001), and a seven volume subset, *The Definitive Journals of Lewis and Clark* (University of Nebraska, 2002). Ever since, historians and the public have hoped for, in Moulton’s words, “a less weighty [and costly] introduction to the party’s diaries” (ix). A number of previous one-volume editions exist, including those of Bernard DeVoto and Frank Bergon. Those followed the previously available comprehensive edition of Reuben Gold Thwaites, published in 1904-05, which is still useful but has a number of deficiencies. Moulton’s large, handsome abridgement is now clearly the definitive one, as is his comprehensive edition.

Moulton’s purpose in the present volume is, “to allow readers to negotiate the text without the clutter of unnecessary editorial impediments, while at the same time to supply aids that clarify and enhance the writers’ words” (lviii). No one knows the source material like Moulton does, and he has selected well from the text of the full edition while providing a number of useful aids. The author’s introduction gives a capsule history of the expedition. An afterword briefly accounts for the Corps members’ lives after the expedition and assesses their legacy. The author praises the captains for the conduct of the expedition: its efficiency, harmony, good health, and generally peaceful relations with Indians. More importantly, he credits them with a good deal of useful cartographic, geographic, and biological fieldwork, while maintaining a balanced view of their shortcomings.

In the body, Moulton sometimes chooses among multiple drafts of a single entry, or selects the most vivid or revealing entry for a given day. The author deliberately includes entries that provide a narrative of the voyage as well as the extensive scientific work carried on. The bulk of entries are by Lewis, who had

some real writing style, or Clark, whose entries tend to be drier, although enlivened by remarkably entertaining spelling (which Moulton wisely retains). Moulton also includes occasional selections from the four enlisted men who kept journals: John Ordway, Patrick Gass, Joseph Whitehorse, and the unfortunate Charles Floyd, the only man who died during the expedition. The epic elements of the Journals are intact. Here are the tremendous labor of rowing and pulling the boats upstream; the many encounters with Indians; Floyd's death; the long first winter among the Mandans; Sacagawea, the young Shoshoni mother, who proved invaluable when the Corps was in desperate straits in the Rockies for want of horses; the fights with grizzly bears; the dilemma at the three forks of the Missouri; the long and difficult crossing of the Bitterroots; the miserable winter at Fort Clatsop; the fight with Piegiens, the only violence between the Corps and Indians of the entire twenty-eight months; and Lewis's accidental shooting. Moulton allows the words of the participants to bring these events to life. The volume includes clear maps and an excellent index. Any library or historian of the West will want to own this book.

JEFF NICHOLS
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Western Places, American Myths: How We Think About the West Edited by Gary J.

Hausladen (Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003. xiv + 343 pp \$49.95.)

THIS BOOK EXPLORES the relationship between land and people in the American West. Its editor, Gary Hausladen, is Professor of Geography at the University of Nevada at Reno. Hausladen has assembled a dozen fine essays that interpret the West in terms of its intense land-centered dramas and its enduring mythology as a special place. Although the book's main focus and methodology are geographical, historians will find much of interest.

Western Places, American Myths begins with Hausladen's introductory essay that presents several exciting and conflicting definitions of where the West begins (and ends). In "Understanding Western Places: The Historical Geographer's View," William Wyckoff next answers the question just what is historical geography? In "An Inescapable Range, or the Ranch as Everywhere," Paul Starrs provides a balanced and welcome look at an activity that is both revered and despised. Read this essay carefully and you will come to understand a deeper and more enduring side of ranching and ranchers.

John Wright's essay on "Land Tenure: The Spatial Musculature of the American West" is eloquently written in places, and thought-provoking throughout, especially where he discusses two prevalent myths—that when settlers first arrived, the West was unpopulated, and that it was a pristine, unspoiled Eden. However, when Wright claims that the United States used "the Mormon settlement of Utah as a weapon of war" (88) to take land from the Indians and Mexicans, he ignores the historical fact that the Mormons had actually left the United States to create their

own theocratic empire, Deseret. Wright's map claiming that the southwestern quadrant of the U.S., including Utah, was obtained by "cession from Mexico, 1843," is incorrect, but the correct date— 1848—is given on an adjacent chart. Wright's chart of Land Tenure Conflicts is very informative and thought-provoking. His discussion of conflicts in the individual western states offers a fine synopsis, but is a bit oversimplified in its assessment of Utah. For example, Wright claims "the surprising and much publicized corruption exhibited by Utah's heavily Mormon Olympic Committee is testimony to the strength of...." obedience to "Brigham Young's prime directive to 'build up Zion'...." He also claims that Utah's disdain for conservation (an arguable point in itself) is attributable to "the demographic, economic, and political hold that Mormons have on the state...." (104).

In "National Significance: Representation of the West in the National park System," Lary Dilsaver offers cogent interpretations of how this branch of the Department of Interior preserves and interprets the West's varied landscapes. Several of the West's most important national parks are located in Utah. Dilsaver's observation that numerous type localities have been neglected, including sites associated with mining and Mormon settlement, is noteworthy.

The book's jackpot for Utahns is "Mormon Wests: The Creation and Evolution of an American Region" by Richard Jackson. In it, Jackson notes that "the idealistic utopian agrocentric society envisioned by the early Mormon leaders was doomed to failure by the very American values of individualism, competition, and materialism that the Mormon faithful brought with them to the West...." Jackson acknowledges also that "... Mormon struggles to remake the environment according to their vision of the stewardship conferred upon them by their God created the distinctive land and people today recognized as Mormon country" (136). His article interprets Mormon settlement—both urban and rural—in relation to Mormon history. Jackson concludes his essay by identifying forces of change, speculating about the future Mormon West, and discussing the geography of today's Mormon West. Jackson concludes that "another significant change in the region in the last twenty-five years has been the decline in direct church control of political, economic, or other activities that typified the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Mormon settlements" (157). This is evident in the church's turning over numerous academies to state educational departments, as well as the selling off of the fabled ZCMI (Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution), and the secularizing of water appropriation.

Continuing the theme of ethnicity and culture, Terrence Haverluk's essay on "Mex-America: From Margin to Mainstream"—offers cogent interpretation of the potency of Hispanic culture and Anglo-American ambivalence (acceptance-resistance) region-wide. Akim Reinhardt's "Native America: The Indigenous West," is a fine synopsis of the tension between traditional and modern distributions of Native Americans. Reinhardt's discussion of differences between Native Americans' and European Americans' perceptions of place—especially spir-

itual aspects of place—is particularly insightful. Karen Morin's essay "Narrating Imperial Adventure: Isabella Bird's Travels in the Nineteenth-Century American West" provides an interesting and often neglected feminist perspective on the Rocky Mountains.

This book's last section—"The West as Visionary Place"—includes four fascinating essays. In "The Return of the One-Armed Bandits: Gambling and the West," Pauliina Raento places gaming (including Native American gaming) in historical and geographic perspective. In "Magical Realism: The West as Spiritual Playground," photographer Peter Goin offers a brief but insightful, delightful, and anecdotal essay. It is supplemented by sixteen superb color photographs—what Goin calls "stories without plots." Goin's images are mostly from the Great Basin, "... a magical land with an ephemeral spirit a land of mirages and miracles" (255). In "Good, by God, We're Going to Bodie!" Dydia DeLyser offers a fine interpretation of ghost towns in the American West. These places refuse to die—or rather vanish from our consciousness—and are often given new life in popular culture because they "stand as readily recognizable, landscape sentinels" of risk-taking in the West (287).

Editor Gary Hausladen winds up this book with "Where the Cowboy Rides Away: Mythic Places for Western Film"—a brief look at the enduring genre that epitomizes the romanticizing of West as locale. This essay's map "Where the West Was Filmed" (compiled by Paul Starrs) reveals many cherished locales, including northern Utah, Monument Valley and Southern Utah. Hausladen identifies two places in particular—Monument Valley/Southern Utah and the Alabama Hills east of the Sierra Nevada near Lone Pine, California—as archetypal "western" landscapes. He concludes that western movie plots may change, but that locales for westerns endure. Why? Because "the role of setting remains the same—to help foster transformation, regeneration, rejuvenation, and resurrection" that "... help us come to grips with our national identity and who we are as people" (316).

Western Places, American Myths: How We Think About the West is highly recommended to anyone seriously interested in the history and geography of Utah and the West.

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Legacy: The History of the Utah National Guard By Richard C. Roberts (Salt Lake City: National Guard Association of Utah, 2003. vii + 476 pp. \$39.95.)

AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH, Utah communities watch their citizen soldiers, as part of the National Guard, don military garb and disappear for a weekend of training or a two week stint of service. These soldiers' commitments are accepted as just part of daily life, nothing too extraordinary, unless the soldiers are called to

active duty. In *Legacy*, the reader is introduced to the history of this organization and its cumulative impact in state, national, and world history. Its far-reaching accomplishments, as outlined by Roberts, may be surprising to many of our citizens.

The writing of this story started long ago—according to the author more than thirty years ago—in the form of a doctoral dissertation. Over the years this extensively researched work has blossomed into a large and detailed institutional history. Starting from the roots of the Nauvoo Legion and early pioneer history, to the National Guard's formal inception in 1894, through to its current activities in Kosovo, Kuwait, and Afghanistan (coverage ends in 2000, before the war with Iraq), the account continues to unfold. The general outline of events is well-known, conforming to major activities in American history. The Guard's involvement as strike breakers at the turn of the century, its duty near or south of the Mexican border with General John J. Pershing, service in World War I and II as well as the Korean conflict, its trials during the turbulent years of the Vietnam era, and its assistance in the liberation of Kuwait (Desert Shield/Desert Storm), are just part of this organization's proud heritage.

Roberts has sprinkled amidst this familiar history some interesting nuggets. Take for instance the role of Utah "gunboats" in the Philippines in the early 1900s, the evolution of Camp Williams beginning in 1914, the fact that Mormon historian B.H. Roberts at the age of sixty enlisted as a chaplain in World War I, and the role of the Guard as a calming influence during the turbulent mining conflicts of the 1920s. Of a more recent nature, there was the airlift of bales of hay for cattle stranded by extensive snowstorms (1948-49) and the huge force assembled for security during the 2002 Winter Olympics. There is nothing static about the role this organization has played over the years.

The state has a long proud heritage in the specialties of artillery and engineering, but there have also been smaller organizations that have contributed in more recent years. Of significance today is the Air National Guard that has seen an escalation of service since its inception in 1946. The 19th Special Forces Group (Airborne) and the 300th Military Intelligence Brigade likewise have grown in importance as the Utah Guard receives increasingly global missions. What began in the early years as a humble response to local state issues has now mushroomed into far-reaching, professional military talent that stretches around the world.

This book is an excellent source of both organizational and individual unit information. It is generally accurate and detailed enough to please the aficionado and yet interesting for the lay reader. The author has used extensive military reports garnered from state and national archives while also incorporating newspaper reports of the local response to the Guard's activities within the state. The only criticism of this work is the extensive use of the passive voice and some long, bewildering sentences that lose the reader in complexity. Otherwise, this book is

recommended for those interested in a detailed institutional account of a significant organization prominent in Utah history.

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BOOK NOTICES

Lynching in Colorado, 1859-1919 By Stephen J. Leonard (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2002. x + 246 pp. Cloth, \$24.95.)

Author Stephen J. Leonard's newest book provides readers with one of the first comprehensive studies of lynching in a Western state. He takes the phenomenon of lynching, so often equated with the South, and examines how it arrived in the West, when, where and why it flourished and operated, who was killed and how lynching was finally eradicated. Lynching is often equated with illegal hangings, yet a person illegally shot, beaten, burned or drowned at the hands of a mob acting under the pretext of justice is just as "lynched" as the one who was hanged.

Lynching arrived in the western reaches of the Kansas and Nebraska Territories with the Pikes Peak Gold Rush of 1859, and between Colorado's first recorded lynching in the same year and its last in 1919, approximately 175 people were killed without a legal trial. This book examines the role that economics, migration, race, and gender played in the shaping of justice in Colorado and quite possibly the American West.

The Oral History Manual By Barbara W. Sommer and Mary Kay Quinlan (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002. vii + 129 pp. Cloth, \$70.00; paper, \$24.95.)

This highly useful manual on oral history is one of the volumes in the American Association for State and Local History Book Series. If you are looking to undertake an oral history project or just want to learn more about the practice of oral history, this book is an excellent introduction. Beginning with a discussion of developing and planning an oral history project and the legal and ethical considerations in doing oral history, the manual takes readers through the process of how to get started, equipment, budgets and other financial considerations, preparing for an interview, the interview setting, conducting an interview, and what to do with the recorded interview after it has been collected. A glossary, bibliography, sample forms, letters, interview outlines, transcriptions, and tape logs are included in the appendix.

A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848-1876 Edited by Robert Glass and Juanita Brooks (San Marino: The Huntington Library Press, 2003. xxxiv + 826 pp. \$35.00.)

This fourth printing of John D. Lee's diaries is handsomely packaged and moderately priced. It includes notes and indexes to the two volumes as well as two photographs and short biographies of the volume's well-known and admired editors. *A Mormon Chronicle* has been reviewed twice in the *Utah Historical Quarterly*. Director of the Utah State Historical Society, A. R. Mortensen's review appeared in the January 1956 issue of the *Quarterly*. Quoting a competent observer of the volume Mortensen wrote: "Lee stands as the greatest of all the Mormon diarists," and adds that Lee's diaries capture the activities of one of the major players in the development of the frontiers as well as those of his associates and contemporaries. Melvin T. Smith reviewed *A Mormon Chronicle* for the *Utah Historical Quarterly* in the fall 1984, the year of the diaries' third printing. Echoing Mortensen's earlier review, Smith labeled Lee both a "heroic" and a "tragic" figure. The Huntington Library Press serves all students of nineteenth century Utah and the West by reprinting these important diaries.

The Diaries of John Gregory Bourke Volume 1: November 20, 1872 to July 28, 1876 Edited and Annotated by Charles M. Robinson (Denton, Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2003. ix + 518 pp. \$49.95.)

This is the first of a planned set of six books, which are being compiled and edited for the first time from the 124 manuscript volumes of John Gregory Bourke's diaries. Bourke began his diary as a young cavalry lieutenant in Arizona in 1872, but it was as aide-de-camp to Brigadier General George Crook that he was exposed to military life on the Western frontier. He experienced and wrote about the early Apache campaigns, the Great Sioux War, the Cheyenne Outbreak and the Geronimo War.

His writings reveal much about military life in the West, but also contain observations about prehistoric sites and Indian civilization. It is from his daily contact and interactions that he became to be a noted and respected ethnologist, writing extensive descriptions of American Indian beliefs, customs and traditions. "His views on the settlement of the West were far more critical than other scholars of his era, such as Theodore Roosevelt and Fredrick Jackson Turner. Like them, he saw it as a great national adventure, but devoid of much of the glory that turner and Roosevelt gave it" (2).

This volume and the following series will prove to be a must read for anyone

interested in Indian and military interactions, and for scholars of Western American history.

The Great Frontier By Walter Prescott Webb (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003. ix + 433 pp. Paper, \$21.95.)

First published in 1951, *The Great Frontier* is undoubtedly one of the great classics of Western History. A controversial work, that even fifty years after its first publication, scholars still hotly debate its conclusions.

The Great Frontier is not just U.S. history, but rather it is a discussion of the entire occupation of the New World by the expansion of Europe overseas. According to Webb, it is this expansion of Europe into the Western Hemisphere that made possible the development of such fundamental institutions of the modern era such as individualism, capitalism, and political democracy.

By the twentieth century the expansion of the West, which had been going for the past five hundred years and was the dominant movement in world history, was coming to an end. What next? This is the fateful question this book raises. It is now available for a new generation of readers, and is a must read for anyone who wishes to understand the significance and the history of the Western World.

The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Black Cavalry in the West By William H. Leckie with Shirley A. Leckie (1967; revised ed., Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xv + 319 pp. \$29.95.)

This groundbreaking study of African American soldiers in the West deals primarily with the soldiers of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry Regiments during the decades after the Civil War to 1891. These buffalo soldiers served to monitor and control Native American peoples primarily on the Great Plains and in Texas though their duties also took them into southern New Mexico and Arizona, and western Colorado where buffalo soldiers of the Ninth Cavalry, under the command of Major T.T. Thornburgh, fought Ute Indians in 1879. Seven years later in 1886, buffalo soldiers under the command of Major Frederick William Benteen established Fort Duchesne in the Uinta Basin. Unfortunately the Utah story is overlooked though the revised edition does give greater attention to the social aspects of the buffalo soldiers' experience and discusses contemporary efforts to memorialize them in film, art, and architecture.

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This publication has been funded with the assistance of a matching grant-in-aid from the National Park Service, under provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 as amended.

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